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Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî

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ART. X.—*Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem*
in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî.
 Extracts Re-translated by GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

‘Traduttore traditore.’—*Italian Proverb.*

AMONG the many useful works that have appeared under the auspices of ‘The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland,’ none is perhaps more palpably open to criticism than the Rev. J. Reynolds’ History of the Temple of Jerusalem.¹ To judge from the translation, Mr. Reynolds had, to begin with, but a very imperfect knowledge of Arabic, and, in the second place, from the extraordinary blunders he makes, he can have put himself to no pains whatever to become acquainted, by means of plans, and the descriptions of modern travellers, with the localities of which the Arab author speaks. It is not my present purpose to re-edit and correct Mr. Reynolds’ work, for the book runs to some 550 pages, large 8vo., and it may safely be asserted that there is not a single one of his pages that would not require considerable alteration, to make it a tolerably exact rendering of his author’s text. Moreover, the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal hardly afford room for so lengthy a work. I must therefore content myself with giving the headings of each of the seventeen chapters, and shall only translate such passages in the text as have seemed to me of most importance from an archæological or architectural point of view, and for throwing light on the vexed question of the sites of the Holy Places.

¹ The History of the Temple of Jerusalem, translated from the Arabic MS. of the Imâm Jalâl ad Dîn as Siâtî, with notes and dissertations by the Rev. J. Reynolds, B.A., etc. London, 1836.

It is necessary, however, before passing on to the book itself, to point out that Mr. Reynolds has made a first mistake in ascribing the work to the Inâm *Jalâl ad Dîn* as Suyûtî. *Jalâl ad Dîn* as Suyûtî is an extremely well known personage to any one who has turned over the pages of Sale's "Koran," and is principally known by his numberless exegetical works on the Kuran and the traditions, his "History of the Caliphs" (translated by H. S. Jarrett, 1881), with various dictionaries, etc., etc.; for, according to the catalogue he himself gives of his writings, their number exceeded 300, and they treat of every subject that came under the cognizance of the learned in Islâm. The details of *Jalâl ad Dîn* as Suyûtî's life are perfectly well known. He was born in A.H. 849 at Asiût, in Upper Egypt, and he died in A.H. 911 as a recluse in his garden on the Island of Roda above Cairo. With this most learned personage *Shams ad Dîn* as Sûyutî, the author of the book Mr. Reynolds took in hand, has only in common that both were born at Asiût. *Shams ad Dîn* as Suyûtî gives a full account of himself in the preface to the work which is now occupying us. The date of his birth is not given, but he states that after completing his education in the schools of Cairo, he set out on the Pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, and reached Mekka in A.H. 848 (A.D. 1444; that is to say, a year before *Jalâl ad Dîn*, the other Suyûtî, was born). After spending a year at Mekka, he became tired of the place and returned to Cairo. However, a year later he sets out with his household, and paying a flying visit to the Tomb of the Prophet at Medina, he proceeds on to Mekka once more, and takes up his quarters for the next nine years in the precincts of the Ka'abah.

In the beginning of A.H. 857 we find him back in Cairo, occupying a position of trust in the household of one of the nobles who attended the court of the Mamlûk Sultans. It had always been Suyûtî's wish to visit Jerusalem, and thus complete his acquaintance with the Holy Cities of Islâm; when, therefore, his patron was sent on a diplomatic mission to Aleppo, he agreed to accompany him, in the hopes that

from Aleppo they might return to Egypt, taking the Holy City on their way. Matters, however, fell out differently, and it was only many years later, in A.H. 874, when he again found himself at Damascus, that he was able to carry out his long-deferred purpose of joining the caravan that was going south to Jerusalem; he reached the Holy City in the month of Ramadan of that same year (A.D. 1470). At Jerusalem he wrote the work which is the subject of the present paper, the title of which, *Ithâf al Akhissâ fi fadâil al Masjid al Aksâ*, may be rendered 'A Gift for Intimates concerning the Merits of the Aksâ Mosque.'

Although there is no manner of doubt as to our author's identity, his age, and the salient incidents of his biography, some confusion, it must be allowed, exists as to his precise name. One of the British Museum MSS.¹ calls him Shaikh Ibrahim, while in another² he is Muhammad as Suyûtî; and to render this matter still more puzzling, Hajji Khalfâ, in his Bibliographical Dictionary (ed. by Fluegel, No. 42), gives the name of the author of the *Ithâf* as "Kamâl ad Dîn Muhammad ibn Abu Sharîf," while the title-page of one of the Paris MSS.³ calls him Al Minbâjî as Suyûtî. The point, however, is after all of no great importance, the notable fact being that our Suyûtî has nothing whatever to do with the great commentator Jalâl ad Dîn 'Abd ar Rahmân as Suyûtî, who was only born a year after our author, already of man's estate, was making his pilgrimage to Mekka.

Turning now from the man to his work, which, as before noted, Suyûtî compiled during his sojourn in the Holy City, the MSS. all coincide in dividing it into seventeen chapters preceded by an introduction, in which the author recounts the main incidents of his life, and, in conclusion, notes the names of the books on which he has mainly depended for his materials. The most frequently quoted are the following:

¹ B.M. Add. 7326.

² Add. 7327.

³ Suppl. Arabe, 919. In the two other Paris MSS. (Arabe, 836, 838) he is called Kamâl ad Dîn Muhammad ibn Abi Sharîf.

I. Muthîr al Gharâm ilâ Ziyârat al Kuds wa ash Shâm (*The Exciter of Desire for Visitation of the Holy City and Syria*), by Jamâl ad Dîn Abu Mahmûd Ahmad al Makdisi (the Hierosolymite). Of this work I was happy to find three excellent MSS. in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹ From the author's own statement in his preface, we learn that the Muthîr was written at Jerusalem in A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351). Of the writer's personal history all we know is that he was born in A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314), that he gave lectures in the Tenkezieh College at Jerusalem, and that he died at Cairo in A.H. 765 (A.D. 1364).²

On comparing the Muthîr with Suyûtî's work, I found that what were, to me, the most interesting portions of the latter, namely those relating to points of archæological, topographical, and historical interest, had been simply copied verbatim et literatim by Suyûtî (A.D. 1470) from the Muthîr (A.D. 1351), and further that Mujîr ad Dîn (whose description of Jerusalem was written in A.D. 1494) had to all appearance merely copied these same sections of the Muthîr from Suyûtî. The Muthîr, therefore, as the earliest authority I have come upon for many of the more remarkable accounts in Suyûtî, has seemed to me worthy of special attention, and as the MSS. of the Muthîr are rare, I have not hesitated to print the text of certain chapters or portions of chapters of the Muthîr which Suyûtî has taken. Before, however, passing on to other authorities quoted by Suyûtî, it may be worth while to give in briefest summary the contents of the Paris MSS. of the Muthîr. The work is divided into two parts.

¹ Anciens fonds, Nos. 716, 841, 842. I may here take occasion to express my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to Monsieur Delisle, the Director, in particular, for the liberal manner in which, under a guarantee from our Embassy, he allowed me to borrow MSS. and carry them off to my own house for copying. I must also add my cordial acknowledgment of the favour extended to me by the Director of the Royal Library of Munich, who during the vacation, when the library is generally closed to the public, gave me free use of the many treasures that are stored on its shelves.

² Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 425. Hajji Khalfa, No. 11372.

The first treats of the many excellences of Syria, the limits of the province, the origin of the name, the political division into districts, and is followed by a quotation of those verses of the Kurân which celebrate its praise. The second part treats of the many excellences of the Aksa Mosque and what pertains thereto, in particular and in general, from the date of its first foundation. An account is given of its building, and what may be found therein of wonders and remains of former days. It is from this portion of the work that I have printed the extracts relating to Omar's visit to the Noble Sanctuary, when it was yet covered by an enormous dung-hill of refuse thrown here by the Christians; also the chapter giving an account of the building of the Dome of the Rock by 'Abd al Malik, and the service for the same instituted by him. These accounts, as they now stand, date from A.D. 1350, fully six centuries from 'Abd al Malik's days, and over seven hundred years from those of Omar; also, I must confess, that they seem to me extremely apocryphal. The source from which they are derived is to me quite unknown. I have given the text as found in the Muthîr—which, as before noted, has been copied in turn by both Suyûtî and Mujîr ad Dîn—it being the earliest version with which I am acquainted. The story of Omar's conquest and visit, and 'Abd al Malik's building of the Dome of the Rock, as given by the Muslim Annalists, from Tabari down to Ibn al Athîr, is confined to a simple statement of the facts, and is devoid of all the details which abound in the present text. Possibly in the Muthîr we have another specimen of the romantic history-books which Islâm produced during the age of the Crusade, and of which the pseudo-Wâkidi set so agreeable an example.¹ The Muthîr concludes by a section filled with short biographical notices of the various Prophets, Saints, Patriarchs, and following them the most notable of

¹ The Byzantine historian George Theophanes (died A.D. 818) is generally quoted as the authority for what may be called 'the Christian tradition' of the events of Omar's conquest. Is it possible that his work, translated into Arabic, may have been the source, direct or indirect, of the very circumstantial account furnished by the Muthîr, which agrees in many points with the narrative of Theophanes.

the Muslim worthies, who visited the Holy City. I may add that from this section Mujîr ad Dîn has also freely plagiarised, and most of the biographical notices found in his work are taken verbatim from the Muthîr.

II. A second work, also bearing the name of *Muthîr al Gharâm*, is bound up with the first Muthîr in the MSS. 716 and 842 of the Bibiothèque Nationale. It is the 'Muthîr al Gharâm li ziyârat al Khalil,' The Exciter of Desire to the Visitation of (the city of) the Friend (of Allah, that is, Hebron). It was written by Abu'l Fidâ Ishâk al Khalîlî (of Hebron), whose family had originally come from Tadmur (Palmyra), and hence Suyûtî, who states in his preface that this work is his chief authority for all that relates to Hebron and the Tombs of the Patriarchs, quotes him under the name of Tadmurî. He died in A.H. 833 (A.D. 1430). The account he gives of an alleged visit to the Sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Cave of Machpelah, is copied by both Suyûtî and Mujîr ad Dîn, and though legendary enough in its present form, is perhaps founded on fact. I have therefore thought it worth while to translate the account in full, more especially as Mr. Reynolds' version leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy.

III. An authority whose name occurs on every other of Suyûtî's pages is Ibn 'Asâkir. This is not the celebrated 'Ali ibn 'Asâkir who wrote the 'Chronicle of Damascus,'¹ but his son Bahâ ad Dîn.² The latter spent most of his literary lifetime editing his father's works, and died in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1204) at Damascus. His book 'On the Excellences of the Aksâ Mosque' (Kitâb al Uns fi fadâil al Kuds),³ which Suyûtî speaks of in his preface, and frequently quotes, contains, in collected form, the lectures which he gave in the Mosque at Jerusalem during the year 596 A.H. Unfortunately I have not been able to learn that any MSS. of this work exist in our libraries.

¹ Wüst. *op. cit.* No. 267.

² Wüst. No. 292.

³ See also Hujji Khalfa, No. 3964, for the Jâmi' al Mustakzâ, by the same.

Of other, but less important, books spoken of by Suyûtî in his preface as authorities from which he quotes, I shall need only to give the list of titles with the reference to the numbers of Hajji Khalfa's great Bibliographical Dictionary, and the pages of Professor Wüstenfeld's "*Geschichtschreiber der Araber*." In Mr. Reynolds' translation (pp. xiv-xx), the names of the authors and their works are unfortunately rendered in a way to be perfectly unintelligible; apparently the translator did not trouble even to write out the proper names correctly.

IV. 'Ar Raud al Mugharras fî fadâil Bait al Mukaddas' (*Hortus plantatus de prestantiis Hierosolymorum*), by Tâj ad Dîn 'Abd al Wahâb.¹

V. 'Abd ar Rahman ibn al Jauzî's Compendium called 'Fadâil al Kuds'—*The Excellences of the Holy City*.²

VI. Sibî ibn al Jausî's 'Mirât az Zamân' (*Mirror of the Times*).³

VII. Burhân ad Dîn al Farâzî, whose work 'Kitâb bâ'ith an Nufûs ilâ ziyârat al Kuds al Mahrûs' (*Liber animos ad Hierosolyma bene servata visitanda excitans*), is often quoted by Tâj ad Dîn 'Abd al Wahab above mentioned.

VIII. The work of Abu'l Ma'âlî al Musharraf ibn al Murajâ, called 'The Excellences of the Holy City and of Syria' (*Fadâil Kuds wa ash Shâm*),⁴ Suyûtî also quotes very frequently.

IX. Badr ad Dîn Muhammad az Zarkashi, who wrote the 'Kitâb al Islâm as Sâjid' (*Institutio procumbentis*).⁵

X. And, lastly, the 'Juzw latîf fî fadâil as Shâm wa Dimashk'—*The Sweet Booklet on the Excellences of Syria and Damascus*—by the Shaikh Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Shuja' ar Rabi'î⁷ the Malikite. Suyûtî

¹ Wüst. op. cit., No. 431. Hajji Khalfa, No. 6599.

² Wüst. No. 287.

³ Wüst, No. 340. Hajji Khalfa, No. 11,723.

⁴ Hajji Khalfa, No. 1610.

⁵ Hajji Khalfa, No. 9139.

⁶ Hajji Khalfa, No. 939.

⁷ Hajji Khalfa, No. 962.

adds: "Of this work the Shaikh Burhân ad Dîn (No. VI.) has made an abridgment by leaving out the Isnâds" (or authorities).

Before passing on to the translation of Suyûti's text, or rather of those passages which have appeared to me of interest archæologically, I must devote a few paragraphs to put my readers in mind of what is the technical signification in Arab writings of the word 'Masjid.'

In order to turn to our profit the Arab description of the Noble Sanctuary or Haram area of Jerusalem, it is necessary to remember that the term Masjid (whence, through the Spanish *Mezquita*, our word Mosque) denotes the *whole* of the sacred edifice, comprising the main building and the court, with its lateral arcades and minor chapels. The earliest specimen of the Arab mosque consisted of an open courtyard, within which, round its four walls, run colonades or cloisters to give shelter to the worshippers. On the side of the court towards the Kiblah (in the direction of Mekka), and facing which the worshipper must stand, the colonade, instead of being single, is, for the convenience of the increased numbers of the congregation, widened out to form the Jâmi' or place of assembly. Three rows of columns with the boundary wall will here form three transverse aisles. In the centre of the boundary wall on the Mekka side is set the great Mihrâb of the mosque, indicating the direction of the Kiblah; and in all descriptions of a mosque it is taken for granted that the visitor is facing the Kiblah, and is standing in the court (Sahn) of the mosque. Fronting him therefore is what is called the covered part (al Mughattâ) or the fore part (al Mukaddamah) of the mosque; while in his rear is the colonade against the wall of the courtyard, furthest from the Mekka side, and this is called the hinder part of the mosque (al Mu-âkhirah). Bearing these points in mind, and coming now to the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem, we must remember that the term 'Masjid' belongs not only to the Aksa mosque (more properly the Jâmi' or place of assembly for prayer), but to the whole enclosure with the Dome of the Rock in the middle, and all the other minor domes and

chapels. As M. de Vogüé has pointed out, the Dome of the Rock is not itself a mosque or place for public prayer, but merely the largest of the many cupolas in the court of the mosque, intended merely to cover and do honour to the Holy Rock which lies beneath it.

Great confusion is introduced into the Arab descriptions of the Noble Sanctuary by the loose manner in which they apply the terms *al Masjid* or *Masjid al Aksá*, *Jâmi'* or *Jâmi' al Aksá*. The late Professor Palmer laid down what is the rule with great clearness, and I cannot do better than quote his words, premising that in point of fact nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the locality described will prevent a translator ever and again misunderstanding the text he has before him, since the native authorities use the technical terms in an extraordinarily inexact manner, confounding the whole, and its part, under a single denomination. Professor Palmer writes¹: "When the *Masjid el Aksa* is mentioned, that name is usually supposed to refer to the well-known mosque on the south side of the Haram, but such is not really the case. The latter building is called *El Jâmi' el Aksa*, or simply *El Aksa*, and the substructures are called *El Aksa el Kadimeh* (the ancient *Aksa*), while the title *El Masjid el Aksa* is applied to the whole Sanctuary. The word *Jâmi'* is exactly equivalent in sense to the Greek *συναγωγή*, and is applied only to the church or building in which the worshippers congregate. *Masjid*, on the other hand, is a much more general term; it is derived from the verb *sejada* 'to adore,' and is applied to any spot the sacred character of which would especially incite the visitor to an act of devotion."

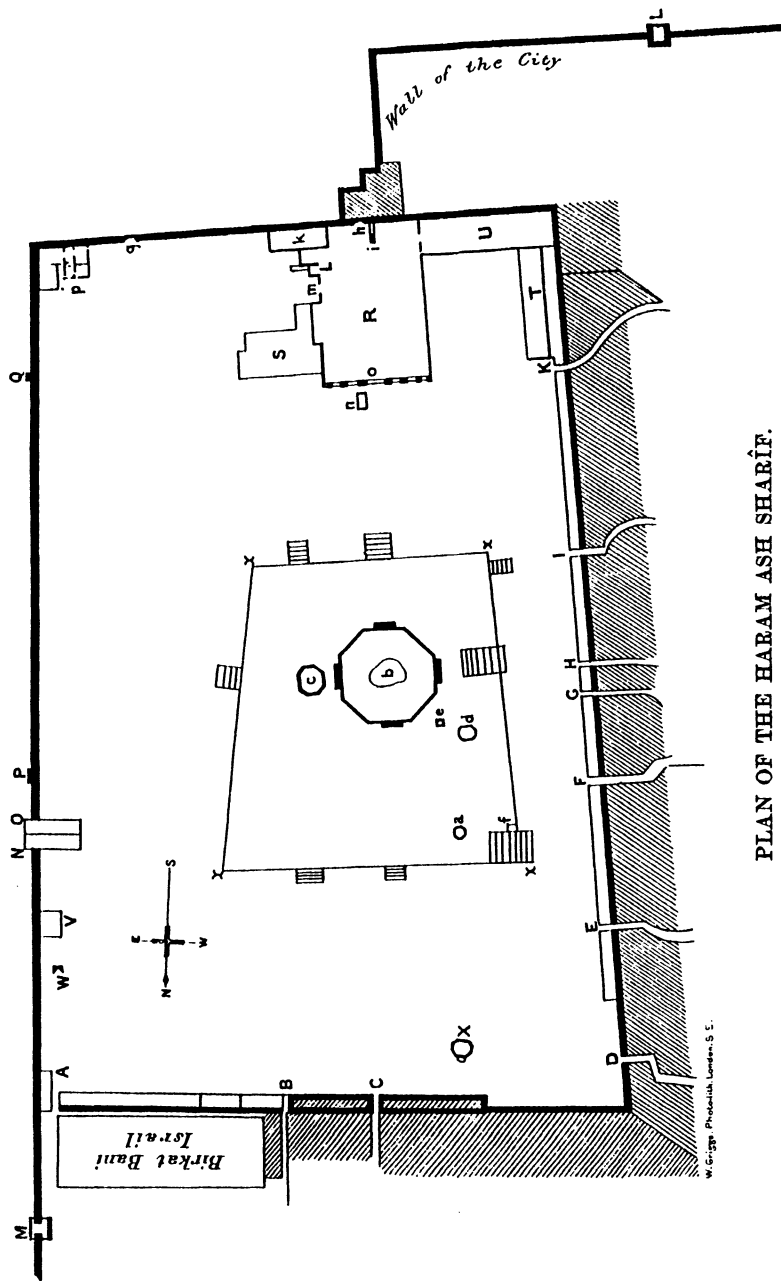
In the present texts, however, the word *Masjid* is so constantly used to denote not only the whole Haram area, but also the main building or covered part, the *Jâmi'* or *Aksa Mosque* proper, at its southern extremity, that I have thought it better to translate *al Masjid* by 'the Haram Area,' or 'the

¹ p. 84 of *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, by W. Besant and E. H. Palmer. London, 1871.

Noble Sanctuary,' in the one case, and by 'the Aksa Mosque' in the other, that the matter might be perfectly clear to European readers. It may at the same time be added that Muslim authorities speak in the same loose way of "the Rock," when they mean "*the Dome of the Rock*" (*Kubbat as Sakhrāh*), which covers the same; but this, after all, is only as we speak of the "Holy Sepulchre," meaning "the Church," which is built to cover it.

In concluding these preliminary remarks, which I regret have taken up more space than I had originally intended, I would add that I have given a few quotations from Mr. Reynolds' translation in my notes, from no motives of self-glorification, or invidious comparison, but only since I deemed it necessary to show cause for undertaking to re-translate the passages which it seemed to me were of greater importance. That my own new translation will be found incorrect and imperfect in many parts, by those who, being better scholars than I am, will take the trouble to examine the texts, is a matter on which I am under no illusion; but Mr. Reynolds' translation is too incorrect to stand unchallenged, and unfortunately many passages from his rendering of the misnamed 'Jalāl ad Dīn' have been quoted in standard works and books of reference, notably in M. de Vogüé's most excellent work, '*Le Temple de Jérusalem*,' and in the useful compilation called '*The Dictionary of Islām*' (Allen & Co.) written by Mr. Hughes. The late Professor Palmer was, I believe, one of the first to draw attention to the very incorrect nature of Mr. Reynolds' work, but how much this is the case readers may now judge of for themselves by looking through the quotations which I have given at the foot of many of the pages of my translation. After all, I fear that in so thorny a matter I had best quote, as applying to my own work, the proverb *Traduttore traditore*.

WÁDÍ JAHANNUM. VALLEY OF KEDRON OR JEHOSEPHAT.



PLAN OF THE HARAM ASH SHARIF.
AT JERUSALEM, WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS.
From the Pal. Expl. Fund Survey.

W. G. 1899. Photographed London S. E.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.¹

- A. Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes).
- B. Bâb Hittah (of Remission).
- C. Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (of the Glory of the Prophets) or Ad Dawâdariyyah (of the Secretariat).
- D. Bâb al Ghawânimah.
- E. Bâb an Nâthir (of the Inspector) or of 'Alâ ad Din al Busirî.
- F. Bâb al Hadîd (of Iron).
- G. Bâb al Kattânîn (of the Cotton Merchants).
- H. Bâb al Mutawaddâ (of the Place for Ablution).
- I. Bâb as Silsilah (of the Chain) or as Sakinah (of the Shechinah).
- K. Bâb al Maghâribah or an Nabî (of the Mogrebins, or of the Prophet).
- L. City Gate, called Bâb al Maghâribah; and by the Franks the Dung Gate.
- M. City Gate, Bâb Sitti Maryam, and by the Franks the Gate of St. Stephen.
- N. Bâb at Taubah (of Repentance) } Golden Gate.
- O. Bâb ar Rahmah (of Mercy) }
- P. Bâb al Burâk or Al Janâiz (of the Funerals).
- Q. Pillar in the Wall, marking the place of the Bridge as Sirât.
- R. Jâmi' al Aksâ.
- S. Madrasah al Farsiyyah.
- T. Jâmi' al Maghâribah.
- U. Aksa al Kadîmah (ancient Aksa).
- V. Kursi Sulaimân (Solomon's Throne).
- W. Makâm (Station of) Iliyâs or Khidr (Elias or St. George).
- X. Kursi 'Isâ (Throne of Jesus).
- x, x, x, x. Platform of the Rock.
- a. Kubbat al Alwâh (Dome of the Tablets).
- b. The Rock.
- c. Kubbat as Silsilah (D. of the Chain).
- d. Kubbat al Mirâj (of the Ascension).
- e. Kubbat Jibrail (Gabriel).
- f. Kubbat al Khidr (St. George).
- g. Mihrâb Daûd (David's Prayer-niche).
- h. Great Mihrâb of the Aksa Mosque.
- i. Mimbar (Pulpit).
- k. Jâmi' 'Omar.
- l. Mihrâb Zakariyyah (Prayer-niche of Zachariah).
- m. Eastern Door of Mosque.
- n. Well of the Leaves.
- o. Great Gate of the Mosque.
- p. Mahd 'Isâ (Cradle of Jesus).

¹ This represents the Haram Area as it exists at the present day; and is reduced from the Plan of the Ordnance Survey (Pal. Expl. Fund) and the work of M. de Vogüé.

CHAPTER I.

*On the names of the Mâsjid al Aksâ, its excellences, the advantages of visitation thereunto and what may be noted thereon in general and in particular, in individual and in cases common to all.*¹

CHAPTER II.

*On the original foundation and beginning of the Masjid by David, and the building thereof by Solomon after the manner that was a wonder unto the world. Of the prayer that he prayed after the completion of the building for the sakes of all who should enter therein, and also of the place of his praying.*²

It is also related that Solomon³—God's prophet—when he had finished the building (of the Temple) sacrificed 3000 heifers and 7000 ewes at the place which is in the after (or northern) part of the Haram area, in the vicinity of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). This is the spot which now goes by the name of the Throne of Solomon.⁴

CHAPTER III.

*On the excellence of the noble Rock, and of the virtues that it possessed during the days of Solomon. Also the height of the dome that was built over the same in those days, and how the Rock is a portion of Paradise, and how on the day of Resurrection it will be turned into white coral, and the meaning of all this.*⁵

The place of the Noble Footprint⁶ may be seen at this day on a stone that is separate from the Rock, and opposite to it, on the further side, which is to the south-west. This stone is supported on a column. The Rock, at this present day, forms the walls enclosing the Cave (that is beneath it) on all sides, except only the part which lies to the south, where is the opening into the Cave; the Rock here does not come up to the south side of the Cave, for between the two is an open

¹ Reynolds, p. 1. These headings give a very exact summary of the contents of each chapter. If the reader will take the trouble to compare any one of the MSS. and my translation with the headings given by Mr. Reynolds, he will see how it was necessary even in this minor matter to do the work over again.

² Reynolds, p. 26.

³ Reynolds, p. 40.

⁴ See Plan, V.

⁵ Reynolds, p. 44.

⁶ Reynolds, p. 52.

space. From the entrance down into the Cave lead stone steps descending. On these stairs is a small shelf, near where the pilgrims stop to visit the Tongue of the Rock. At this spot is a marble column, the lower part of which rests on the south portion of the shelf aforesaid, while its upper part abuts against the Rock, as though to prevent its giving way towards the south,—or may be it is for some other purpose,—and the Rock that lies below supports it. The Place of the Angel's Fingers is on the western side of the Rock, and is distinct from the Place of the Noble Footstep mentioned above. It lies close to, and over against, the western gate of the Sakhrāh (or Dome of the Rock).¹

CHAPTER IV.

On the excellence of prayer in the Holy City and its counting for double there. And whether or not this doubling of the effect of prayer extends to the obligatory prayers as well as to those of supererogation. Also whether this doubling of the effect would include good actions as well as bad. Also of the excellence of almsgiving, and of fasting in Jerusalem; and of the calling to prayer, and of watching there for the new moon of the months of the greater and the lesser Pilgrimage. Also the excellence of providing oil for the illumination of the Mâsjid, and how so doing may stand in the place of actual visitation thereunto for those to whom even intention so to do is an impossibility.²

¹ How Mr. Reynolds has translated this curious, though not very important, passage may be seen by those who care to refer to his pages. Suyûti's description corresponds exactly with what is shown at the present day. The "Foot-print" is that of the Prophet (in Crusading times it was called "Christ's Foot-print"), when he mounted the steed Al Burāk to ascend into heaven. The "Tongue" was given to the rock when it addressed the Khalif Omar in welcome; and the marks of the angel Gabriel's "Fingers" are those left when the Rock, wishing to accompany the Prophet to heaven, had to be pushed down and kept in its place. All this is of course only interesting as showing how early these legends took their rise.

² Reynolds, p. 51. As a specimen of how Mr. Reynolds does work, his version of the above heading may be quoted: *Upon the surpassing efficacy of Prayer in the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, and how it becomes double. Also upon the New Moon of Reduplication, when by prayer the Sacred Precept, and the merits of Works of Supererogation may be diffused to the public. Also the New Moon of Reduplication, when blessings and cursings may be communicated. Also the marvellous effect of pious donations, and fastings and listening to preaching therein. Also the New Moons of the Sacred Pilgrimage and the Sacred Visitation. Also the marvellous efficacy of supplying Oil for the Lamps, and how by this the rank and merit of pilgrimage may be made to exist for those who are unable to undertake the journey.*

CHAPTER V.

An account of the water which flows out from the foundation of the Rock, and how the same is a river of the rivers of Paradise, and how it is cut short in the midst of the Mâsjid on every side, whereby none may draw of this water except such as the heavens draw up—by His permission—to pour down again on the earth. And of the good of entering this place, and how he who prays there is answered, and how he who would enter thereto should proceed, and what prayers are to be avoided by him who prays over that place. Also an account of the Chain which hung there in early times, and the cause of its removal, and description of the Black Slab of rock which is over the Gate of Paradise, and how prayer thereon is answered, and the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.¹

CHAPTER VI.

Account of the night journey of the Prophet to the Holy City, and his ascension into Heaven therefrom. Concerning the excellence of the five prayers. Concerning the excellence of the Dome of the Ascension and of prayer therein; and in the Prayer Station of the Prophet and the excellence of the Dome over the same; and of the Prophet Muhammad's praying therein with former Prophets and Angels on the night of his Night Journey. And of the great worth of both these noble Domes and of prayer therein and of continual adoration there. Also of the great worthiness of almsgiving in the place wherefrom the Prophet ascended, and in his Prayer Station, and of the invocation of the prayer that brings aid.²

The³ Domo named the Domo of the Prophet is, as I understand it, the one which lies to the east of the Sakhrâh, being also called the Dome of the Chain.⁴ It was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, as will be described later on. . . . Now⁵ I would point out that in the Haram area, beside the Dome of the Ascension, there are but two domes. One, a small dome, stands at the edge of the Sakhrâh terrace, on the right-hand side of the northernmost of

¹ Reynolds, p. 70.⁴ Plan, c.² Reynolds, p. 84.⁵ Reynolds, p. 96.³ Reynolds, p. 91.

the steps, leading up to the Sakhrâh terrace, from the west.¹ I think that at the present day this is in the hands of certain of the servants of the mosque, and is put to some use on their part; certainly no one in the Holy City considers that this is the Dome of the Prophet. The other dome stands back at the Gate of the Noble Sanctuary, on the northern side, near the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets,² called also the Bâb ad Dawâdâriyah. It is called the Dome of Sulaimân,—not after the Prophet Solomon,—but perhaps after the Khalif Sulaimân, the son of 'Abd al Malik. As to the Dome of the Ascension, it is, as everybody knows, on the Terrace of the Sakhrâh, and much visited by the pilgrims.³ Hence, therefore, it is likely that what Al Musharraḥ, and the author of the Mustaksâ, and of the Bâ'ith an Nufus⁴ refer to when speaking of the Dome of the Prophet is that now known as the Dome of the Chain, which was built by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik. Now as to the place where the Prophet prayed in the company of Prophets and Angels, it is said that the spot is beside the Dome of the Ascension where, on the Terrace of the Sakhrâh, there used to stand a beautiful Dome. When, however, they flagged the court (Sahn) of the Sakhrâh, they did away with this Dome, and set in its place a handsome Mihrâb,⁵ the floor of which is laid in a circle with red marble flags after the manner of other parts of the Sakhrâh Court. This, then, as it is said, in the place occupied by this Mihrâb, is where the Prophet made his prayer with the Angels and Prophets. He then advanced a step forward from that place, and there rose before him a ladder of gold and a ladder of silver, and thereby was the Ascent into Heaven, as will be found described elsewhere.

¹ At f. on the Plan.

² See Plan, C. and X. This Dome is now called Kursî 'Isâ, the Throne of Jesus.

³ Plan, d.

⁴ See above, p. 253, VII. and VIII.

⁵ Or Prayer Niche, showing the direction of Mekka. At e. of the Plan.

CHAPTER VII.

Account of the walls surrounding the Noble Sanctuary ; and what is found within the same of Mihrābs, that are objects of visitation and wherein prayer should be said : such as the Mihrāb Dâūd, and the Mihrāb Zakariyyā and the Mihrāb Maryam—upon her be peace—and the Mihrābs (of the Khalifs) Omar ibn al Khattāb and Mu'āwiyah. Also what pertains to the gates, and what is their number. Also an account of the stones that are at the gate of the Haram Area. Also the measurement of the Haram Area in its length and breadth, and the Tradition of the Leaves, and an account of the Wādī Jahannum which lies beyond the wall on the eastern side thereof, and what is found therein. Also the dwellings of Al Khidr and of Iliyās near that spot.¹

Now as regards the wall that surrounds the Noble Sanctuary of the Akṣa Mosque, and compasses it on all sides, verily its foundations were laid by David when he built the Temple. . . .

The Mihrābs² worthy of visitation, which lie within the the Noble Sanctuary, are the following, and in them prayer should be said.

The Mihrāb Dâūd (of David).—There is diversity of opinion as to its identification. Some say it is the great Mihrāb,³ which is in the south wall of the Haram area ; others, that it is the great Mihrāb in the neighbourhood of the Mimbar (or pulpit of the Akṣa mosque).⁴ The author of the work called 'al Fath al Kudṣī'⁵ asserts that the Mihrāb of David is in the castle (Hṣn) of the Holy City, in the place where David stood to pray. For his dwelling being in the castle, there also was his place of worship. Now the Mihrāb, whereof mention, by Allah, is made in the Kurān in the words (xxxviii. 20), "When they mounted the wall of the

¹ Reynolds, p. 120.

² Reynolds, p. 122. A *Mihrāb* is a prayer niche ; the mihrāb of a mosque is the special niche which indicates the direction of Mekka (the Kiblah), towards which the Muslim faces when saying his prayers. Besides the great mihrāb, there may be numerous other prayer niches, or chapels, in other parts of the sacred precincts, dedicated to the memory of individual saints and prophets, whose intercession is deemed of efficacy in the granting of prayers.

³ See Plan, q.

⁴ See Plan, i.

⁵ 'The Conquest of Jerusalem,' a name common to many works.

Mihrâb," is generally admitted to be the Mihrâb of David, where he prayed, and it was situated in the Castle, that being his place of worship; while the spot known as the great Mihrâb, which is inside the Haram area,¹ is looked upon as the place where he prayed when he came into the Haram. When Omar came thither, he followed in David's steps, and made his prayer in the place where David had prayed. Hence the place came to be called the Mihrâb of Omar, from the fact of his having prayed there, for the first time, on the day of the capitulation of Jerusalem; but originally it had been named the Mihrâb of David. In confirmation of this is the fact of Omar's veneration of this spot. For when he asked of Ka'ab,² "Which place wishest thou that we should institute as the place of our prayer in this Sacred Area?"—and Ka'ab had answered, "In the hinder part thereof, where it may be near the Sakhrâh, so that the two Kiblahs³ be united,"—Omar had said, "O Abu Ishâq, so thou wouldst act still in Jew fashion? Are we not the people to whom the fore part of the Holy Area belongs as of right?" Then Omar marked out the Mihrâb, which had been that of David, and where had been his place of worship in the Haram Area. Thus Omar's opinion, and his veneration for this spot, both confirm the view that David in ancient times

¹ At q or h.

² "Ka'ab al Ahbar (or al Hibr), surnamed Abu Ishâk ibn Mânî' al Himyari, was originally a Jew, and became a Muslim during the Caliphate of Abu Bakr (some say during that of Omar). He is a celebrated authority for traditions, and is noted as having been a very learned man. He died at Hims in A.H. 32." So says the author of the Muthir, who devotes a few lines to his biography when enumerating the eminent persons who visited or lived at Jerusalem. In point of fact, Ka'ab (like his co-religionist the celebrated Jew Wahb ibn Munabbih, who also embraced Islâm, both of them becoming the great authorities among the early Muslims in all matters of ancient history), was in time discovered to have been a great liar.

³ The two Kiblahs are the Kiblah of Moses, the Rock on which was placed the Ark of the Covenant, and the Muslim Kiblah, which is Mekka. In the early days of the Hijra, after the Prophet had fled to Medina, and for a time had thoughts of abandoning Mekka and its Kaaba, he directed his followers to pray facing in the direction of Jerusalem. The Kiblah of Islam had therefore been for seventeen months (i.e. down to Rajab A.H. 2) identical with that of the Jews. Had Omar accepted the suggestion of Ka'ab, and placed the mosque on the northern side of the Haram area, the Muslim Kiblah, which in Jerusalem points south, would in the mosque have faced the Rock, which thus would have been in front of the Muslim who was turning towards Mekka. As the Aksa Mosque now stands, those who pray there turn their back on the Rock.

had fixed on this place and had chosen the same as his place of prayer.

The Mihrâb of Zakariyyâ (Zacharias).—Most agree that it is that within the (Akṣâ) mosque in the aisle (riwâḳ), near the eastern door.¹

The Mihrâb of Maryam (Mary).—This is the place where she was wont to worship. It is now called the Cradle of Jesus (Mahd 'Isâ).² It is notorious how prayer offered up here is granted. . . .

The Mihrâb of Omar.—People differ as to which this may be. Some say it is the great Mihrâb, close to which now stands the Noble Pulpit (mimbar), and fronting the Great Gate, through which you enter the Akṣâ Mosque.³ Others say that it is the Mihrâb in the eastern aisle of the Akṣâ Mosque, being in the (south) wall of the mosque,⁴ seeing this said aisle with its adjacent parts is called the Jami' of Omar, and that this is the very place which he cleared of filth, he and those who were with him of the Companions, and swept clean before they prayed thereon. Whence it is called the Jami' of Omar. Most, however, are of the opinion before mentioned, namely, that the Mihrâb of Omar is the great Mihrâb near the Mimbar (Pulpit). Further mention of all this and explanation will be given later on, in Chapter IX., relating the conquest of the Holy City, and Omar's entry therein on the day of the capitulation.

The Mihrâb of Mu'âwiyah.—This is said to be the beautiful Mihrâb, which is, at the present time, enclosed within the Maksûrah (the part railed off) for the preacher of the Khutbah (or Friday sermon).⁵ Between it and the great Mihrâb comes the beautiful pulpit aforementioned.

Within the Aksa Mosque, and also without the same in

¹ In the Muslim legend "Zacharias, the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar" (Math. xxiv. 36), and Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest who was "stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord" (II. Chron. xxiv. 22), and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, are all one. The Mihrâb Zakariyyâ is still pointed out at l. on the Plan.

² See Plan, p.

³ See Plan, h.

⁴ See Plan, k.

⁵ That is to the west of i. on the Plan.

the Haram Area, but still within the boundary-wall, are many other Mihrâbs. These have been erected by people of various ranks, to mark venerated spots. As, for example, where a certain person may have seen in his dream that one of the Prophets had made his prayer, or where perchance some one of the Saints had appeared. All these are worthy of visit. Among them is the spot cleft by the angel Gabriel, and where he tied up the steed Al Burâk. It lies outside the Bâb an Nabî (the Prophet's Gate).¹ . . . There are, too, the stones which lie in the after (or northern) part of the Haram Area, in the neighbourhood of the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes); and near these is the place called Solomon's Throne, where he prayed when he had brought to completion the building of the Temple—as has been described in a former chapter²—and Allah there was wont to grant his prayers. Verily it is very worthy to make visitation of all these Mihrâbs and places.

Now as regards the gates in the walls of the Noble Sanctuary.

The *Bâb ar Rahmah* (the Gate of Mercy).—This lies to the east of the Aksa Mosque, and is in the wall of which Allah has made mention in the words³—“But between them (the Hypocrites and the Believers on the judgment day) shall be set a wall with a gateway, within which shall be the Mercy, and in front, without it, the Torment.” The valley which lies beyond this gate is the Wâdî Jahannum.⁴ The Gate of Mercy itself is inside the wall which encloses the Haram Area;⁵ and the gate referred to in the above verse of the Kuran, as on the Wâdî Jahannum, is now closed,⁶ and will only be opened at some future time and by the will of Allah—be He exalted.

¹ Plan, K.

² Plan, V, and see above, p. 258, Chapter II.

³ Kurân lvii. 13.

⁴ The Muslim Wâdî Jahannum is not the Jewish Valley of Hinnon, or Gehenna, for that is the valley to the south-east of Jerusalem, which the Arabs call Wâdî ar Rabâbî. The Wâdî Jahannum is the Kêdron or Valley of Jehoshaphat, and according to Muslim tradition will be the place of the Last Judgment. This agrees with the Jewish traditions about the Valley of Jehoshaphat derived from Joel iii. 2.

⁵ Plan, O.

⁶ Plan, P.

And as to *Bab at Taubah* (the Gate of Repentance), it joins and makes one with the Gate of Mercy,¹ but through neither of them at the present day do men pass. Near the Gate of Repentance, and thus between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes, is the House (Maskin) of Al Khidr and Ilyâs.² . . .

Bab al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes) is in the hinder (or northern) part of the Haram Area, not far from the House of Al Khidr and Ilyâs. In the work called *Fadâil Bait al Mukaddas* (The Excellences of the Holy City) by the Hâfid Abu Bakr al Wâsiti, the Khatib, there is mention made of the Bâb Maskîn al Khidr (the Gate of Al Khidr's House), as standing here, but the author of the *Muthîr al Gharâm* gives no indication of any such gate having existed, although he mentions the House of Al Khidr when enumerating the saints who entered and dwelt in the Holy City. The author of the *Kitâb al Uns*, on the authority of Shahr ibn Jaushab, states that the House of Al Khidr is in the Holy City at a spot between the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of the Tribes; and he continues that Al Khidr was wont to pray every Friday in five different mosques, namely, in the Mosque of Mekka, and the Mosque of Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Kûbâ, and on every Friday night in the Mosque of Sinai.³ . . .

¹ The two Gates of Mercy and Repentance together form the great tower in the east wall of the Haram Area, generally known as the Golden Gate (Plan, N. and O.). According to M. de Vogüé (*Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 68), the architecture of this building shows it to date from Byzantine times only, in fact probably as late as the sixth century A.D. The denomination of the Golden Gate does not occur apparently before the thirteenth century (Sæwulf), and the name *Porta Aurea* is due to a misunderstanding by mediæval pilgrims whose knowledge of Greek was rudimentary of *Θόρα ὡραία*, the gate called "Beautiful," mentioned in Acts iii. 2, as the spot where St. Peter healed the lame man. The site of this miracle, which must in point of fact have taken place at one of the inner gates of the Temple, the early pilgrims and the Crusaders, proceeding in their usual arbitrary manner, saw fit to locate at this Byzantine structure.

² St. George and Elias. Plan, W.

³ Kûbâ is the name of a village two miles distant from Medina, on the road towards Mecca, where there is a mosque celebrated as being the first in Islâm to have been called Masjid at Takwâ, *the Mosque of Piety*. Reynolds (p. 127) translates "and the Mosque of Kissa (near Larissa) and the Mosque of Tyre." Kissa is certainly a false reading, all the MSS. giving *Kubâ*, and though Masjid at Tûr may be taken to mean either the Mosque of Sinai or the Mosque of Keir Tûr, the village crowning the Mount of Olives, 'Tûr' is certainly not 'Tyre,' which is called 'Sûr' by the Arabs.

*Bâb Hittah*¹ (the Gate of Remission), so called because the Children of Israel were directed to enter their House of Prayer thereby, saying, 'Remission, O Lord, for our sins.' . . . The following is given on the authority of 'Ali ibn Sallâm ibn 'Abd as Sallâm,—who was told by his father that he had heard Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd as Sallâm state as follows, namely, that the brazen gate (al bâb an nahâs), which is in the (Akse) Mosque, is the Bâb al Hamal al Ausat (the middle Ram Gate), and is of the workmanship of the Chosroes; and that the brazen gate which closes the (main) gateway² of the Haram Area is the Gate of David through which he was wont to go from Sion to Solomon's Market Place; while the gate of the gateway known as the Bâb Hittah (Gate of Remission) was formerly at Jericho, which city having come to ruin, the gate was transported thence to the Noble Sanctuary. . . .

*Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ*³ (the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets) is that now called Bâb ad Dawîdâriyyah.⁴ It opens from the northern side of the Haram Area.

Bâb al Ghawânimah (the Gate of the men of the family of Ghânim),⁵ is that adjoining the Lieutenant's Palace (the Dâr an Niyâbah). It is the first (or northernmost) on the western side of the Haram Area. Anciently, it is said, this gate was called Bâb al Khalîl (the Gate of Abraham).

Bâb an Nâthir (the Gate of the Inspector).⁶—This is a gate that is said never to have been restored. Anciently it was called Bâb Mikâîl (the Gate of Michael), and according to report it is the gate to which Gabriel tied the steed Al Burâk on the occasion of the night journey.⁷

¹ Reynolds, p. 132. Plan, B.

² Plan, I ?

³ Reynolds, p. 134.

⁴ Plan, C. The Dawîdâriyyah is the house of the Dawîdâr, or Secretary, a Persian word meaning literally 'He who carries the inkstand.'

⁵ Plan, D. Descendants of Shaikh Ghânim ibn 'Ali, who was born near Nablûs in A.H. 562 (A.D. 1167), and died in A.H. 632 at Damascus. Saladin made him chief of the Khânkah Salâhiyyah, the Derwish house founded by him at Jerusalem.

⁶ Plan, E.

⁷ See, however, above, p. 265.

Bâb al Hadd (the Iron Gate).¹—This is one that has been restored. Anciently it was called after Arghûn al Kâmilî,² who founded the Madrasah (College) of the Arghûniyyah, which lies on the left hand as you go out through it.

Bâb al Kaṭṭânîn (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants).³—It is one of those that has been restored. Al Malik an Nâsir ibn Kalâûn was the prince who first built it, but it afterwards fell into complete ruin and disuse. When the late Nâib (Lieutenant) of Syria, Tankiz an Nâsiri,⁴ built the Colonnade (riwâk) which runs all along the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary, and the Sûk al Kaṭṭânîn (the Cotton Market), he rebuilt at the same time this gate with the high portal seen here at the present day.

Bâb as Sikkâyah (the Gate of the Reservoir).⁵—It is said to be an ancient gate, but it had come to be destroyed. When the late 'Alâ ad dîn Al Buṣîrî constructed the Tank of Absolution, which he gave the people, he rebuilt too this gate. May it not be allowed to fall again into ruin!

Bâb as Sakînah (the Gate of the Shechinah or Divine Presence).—This lies near the Gate of the Madrasah (College), called Al Baladiyyah;⁶ and close by it also is the Southern Minaret. The royal College, called Al Madrasah al Ashrafiyyah,⁷ lies to the north of it.

Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) and the *Bâb as Sakînah* are side by side.⁸ The *Bâb as Silsilah* was anciently called the *Bâb Dâûd* (David's Gate).

¹ Plan, F.

² Arghûn al Kâmilî was Lieutenant of Syria. He died in A.H. 758 (A.D. 1357).

³ Plan, G.

⁴ Tankiz al Hîsâmî or an Nâsiri was Lieutenant of Syria under An Nâsir Muḥammad ibn Kalâûn, Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt. Tankiz died in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340).

⁵ Plan, H?

⁶ The Madrasah al Baladiyyah was founded by the Amir Mankali Bughâ al Ahmadi, Governor of Aleppo. He died in A.H. 782 (A.D. 1380).

⁷ The Madrasah Ashrafiyyah was founded by the Mamlûk Sultân Kait Bey in A.H. 885 (A.D. 1491). It stood apparently within the wall of the Haram Area.

⁸ *Muttahidân*, some MSS. may read *Mustajiddân*, which would mean 'restored.' It would appear, however, that the first is the better reading, and that the two portals, that of the Chain and that of the Shechinah, were so close to one another as to form but a single gateway; as is the case at the present day at I. in the Plan.

Bâb al Maghâribeh (the Gate of the Mogrebins or Westerns).¹—So called from its being in the neighbourhood of the gate of the Mosque of the Mogrebins,² where they have their prayers. And the quarter named from this gate lies at the south-eastern corner of the Haram Area. This gate is also called *Bâb an Nabî* (the Gate of the Prophet).³

Now as to what has been said on the subject of the Noble Sanctuary, and its length and its breadth, the author of the *Muthîr al Gharâm* has devoted thereto one of his chapters, giving therein all that is known as to what the Khalif 'Abd al Mâlik and others built in the Haram Area, and the same is his seventh chapter.⁴ 'It is stated by Ibn 'Asâkir that the length of the Haram Area is 755 ells (*dhirâ'*), and its breadth 465 ells, the ell being the royal ell (*dhirâ' al Malik*).⁵ And,' continues the author of the *Muthîr al Gharâm*, 'so also writes Abu'l Ma'âli al Musharrafi⁶ in his book. Now I myself, in old times, have seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, above the gateway⁷ which adjoins the Dawîdâriyyah, and on the inner side of the wall, a slab on which was inscribed the length and the breadth of the Haram Area, and it differed from what these two have stated. And what was inscribed on it

¹ Plan, K.

² Plan, T.

³ These paragraphs, showing how the gates of the Noble Sanctuary stood in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., are not without interest, and Suyûti's account has been copied by subsequent compilers; as, for instance, Mujîr ad Dîn. To show how little Mr. Reynolds' translation can be relied on, I copy his version of the foregoing paragraphs (p. 134): "The Gate of the Glorious Prophets is now called the Gate al Dawidârî (the Gate of the Templars); it is on the western side, but itself is in a northern direction. The Gate of the Sheep is west of the Gate of the Guard, on the front side of the Mosque. This gate is called the Antechapel of Abraham. The Gate of the Conqueror is said to be the same as the Gate of the Jealousy-search; it is now called Angel's Gate, because Gabriel is said to have bound Al Burâk there." And in a note to this farrago of nonsense he adds: "Several gates are enumerated in the original, which, as possessing no interest, are omitted."

⁴ The text of this chapter of the *Muthîr* is given in extenso, p. 303.

⁵ The *Dhirâ' al Mâlik*, the royal ell or cubit, differs from the *Dhirâ' al 'Amm* or common ell, in that the latter contains six Kabdah (or fists), while the royal ell contains seven. The royal ell was instituted by one of the ancient Chosroes of Persia (Lane, s.v. *Dhirâ'*).

⁶ See p. 263.

⁷ Plan, at C.

was : length 784 ells, breadth 455 ells.' The author of the Muthîr continues : 'it gives in the inscription the indication of the ell used, but I am not sure whether this is the ell mentioned above (*i.e.* the royal ell) or some other, for the inscription has become indistinct.' The author of the Muthîr further states that 'the Haram Area was measured in his days with a rope, and that along the eastern wall it measured 683 ells, and along the western wall 650 ells, while in the breadth (*i.e.* along the northern and the southern walls) it measured 438 ells. These measurements being exclusive of the width of the outer walls.' So ends the account of the author of the Muthîr.¹

Now as to the Tradition about the Leaves (of Paradise), there are many and various accounts thereof. In the first place from Abu Bakr ibn Abi Maryam, through 'Utayyah ibn Kais, comes the tradition that the Prophet said, "Verily a man from among my people shall enter Paradise, walking upon his two feet (and come back again), and yet shall live."

¹ The text of this passage from the Paris MSS. of the Muthîr will be found on p. 305. Reynolds (p. 134), has given us a translation that reads nonsense. The identical slab, with the inscription mentioned by the author of the Muthîr, was discovered by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau in 1874, in the north wall of the Haram Area. Part of the inscription, however (as noted also by our author), has become damaged. It runs as follows : "In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful; the length of the Masjid is seven hundred and four and . . . ty ells, and its breadth four hundred and five-and-fifty ells, the ell being the ell of . . ." According to Mons. Ganneau's view, the space for the word representing the tens in the enumeration of the length, will only allow of the word being either 'eighty' or 'thirty.' The Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in A.H. 438 (A.D. 1047), states that he saw the inscription and read it thus, "length 704 gez, breadth 455; the gez (ell = dhirâ') being the royal gez." Ali of Herât, who wrote about the year A.D. 1200, read the numbers of the inscription as "700 and 455." The earliest notice of this measurement, however, that I have met with in Arab writers is that given in the work of the Spanish traveller, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (who died in A.H. 328 = A.D. 940). Without any mention of the inscription on the slab, he states the length and breadth of the Haram Area to be respectively 784 and 455 ells, the ell used being the *Imâm* ell. Thus in his figures he agrees with the author of the Muthîr; and his '*Imâm*' ell, which is probably that of the *Imâm* Ali, is possibly the same as the Malik or royal ell. Lastly, and without any reference to Mons. C. Ganneau's discovery, Mons. Schefer, on the authority of M. Alric Chancelier du Consulat de France à Jerusalem (p. 72 of his edition of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's Travels), states that on the stone which may still be seen in the northern wall of the Haram Area, may be read quite clearly, "length 750 ells, breadth 455 ells, of the royal ell." Mons. Ganneau, however, is of opinion, that whatever else it be, the designation of the 'ell' in the inscription cannot be read, as the word '*al Malik*' or royal, on account of the space and also of the number of strokes, yet distinguishable. So much then is the diversity of opinion, ancient and modern, about this very simple matter.

Now during the Caliphate of Omar a caravan of men arrived at the Holy City to make their prayers there. And one of them, a man of the Bani Tamîm, named Shuraik ibn Habâshah, went off to get water (from the well). And his bucket falling down into the well, he descended to get it up. In the well he found a door opening into gardens, and passing through the door into the gardens, he walked therein. Then he plucked a leaf from one of the trees, and placing it behind his ear, he returned to the well and mounted up again. And the man went to the Governor of the Holy City and related to him of what he had seen in these gardens, and how he had come to enter therein. So the Governor sent men with him to the well and they descended, many people accompanying them, but they found not the door, neither did they attain to the gardens. And the Governor wrote to the Caliph Omar concerning it all, recalling how it was reported on tradition that one of the people of Islâm should enter the Garden of Paradise and walk therein on his two feet and yet live. Omar wrote in answer: "Look ye to the leaf; whether it be green and do not wither. If this be so, verily it is a leaf of Paradise, for naught of Paradise can wither or change; and it is recorded in the aforesaid Tradition of the Prophet that the leaf shall not suffer change."

Another version of the tradition runs as follows: Shuraik ibn Habâshah al Tamîmî came into the Holy City to get water for his companions, and his bucket slipped from his hand, so he descended (into the well) to fetch it up. And a person called to him in the well saying, "Come thou with me," and, taking him by the hand, he brought him into the Garden of Paradise. Shuraik plucked two leaves, and the person then brought him back to where he had first found him. Then Shuraik mounted up out of the well, and when he rejoined his companions, he told them of all that had happened. The affair reached the ears of the Caliph Omar, and it was Ka'ab who remarked how it had been said (by the Prophet) *A man of this people of Islâm shall enter the Garden of Paradise and yet live*, adding, "Look ye to the

leaves; if they suffer change, then are they not of the leaves of Paradise, and if they change not, then must they verily be of the leaves of Paradise." And 'Utayyah asserts that the said leaves never after did suffer change.

According to another tradition (coming from Al Walid), Abu-n-Najm, who was Imâm (leader of prayer) to the people of Salamiyyah (Salaminias), and their Muezzin in the year 140, and died in the year 150, related that the people of Salamiyyah, many of whom were of the desert tribes, told him how they had themselves been well acquainted with Shuraik ibn Habâshah when he was living at Salamiyyah. And they were wont to inquire of him concerning his entrance into the Garden of Paradise, and what he saw therein, and of how he had brought leaves therefrom. And these people continued: We inquired further whether there yet remained by him any one of the leaves which he had plucked there; and when he answered us affirmatively, we asked to see the leaf, and the man called for his Kurân, and took from between its pages a leaf that was entirely green and gave it into our hands. When we had returned it to him, after laying it over his eyes, he placed it back again between the pages of his Kurân. And when he was at the point of death, he enjoined that we should put this leaf on his breast under the shroud, and his last words were to conjure us that this should exactly be done. Al Walid continues: I inquired of Abu-n-Najm whether he had heard a description given of the leaf; he replied 'yes, that it was like the leaf of a peach tree (*Durâkin*), of the size of the palm of a hand, and pointed at the tip . . .'.¹ Now the mouth of the Well of the Leaf is by the Aksa Mosque, on the left hand as you enter by the door facing the Mihrâb.²

¹ Many other similar accounts of the same tradition follow, for a mass of legendary story has gathered round all that relates to the great water tanks excavated in the rock which underlies the Haram Area.

² Plan, n. I quote the last sentence as translated by Mr. Reynolds (p. 138), as a specimen of his method: "This well of the Leaves is situated at the entrance of the Mosque al Aksa, on the left of the gate of the courtyard of the towers." Mr. Reynolds always translates *Mihrâb* by "Tower."

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Spring of Silwân (Siloam) and of the other spring that was near thereto, and the Well which is called after our lord Job, and concerning the Pools. Also an account of the wonderful events which have taken place in the Holy City, and of what happened there at the time of the murder of 'Alī ibn Abū Tālib and his son Al Husain, and of him who said that it was a place of refuge, and how he yearned for the people thereof. Also a description of the Talisman against serpents. Also the Mount of Olives, and the Plain called As Sāhirah, and the Holy Mountains, with an account of Jabal Kāsiyūn in particular, and what is to be met with there.¹

. . .² The author of the *Kitab al Uns* gives the following account of the Well (Bîr) which goes by the name of the Prophet Job;—‘I have read a paper in the handwriting of my cousin Abu Muhammad al Kâsim,—who gave me permission to make use thereof—which states that he read in a certain book of history how once the water ran scarce among the people of the Holy City, and in their need they went to a well in the neighbourhood, which they descended to a depth of eighty ells. At its mouth the well was ten or more ells, by four ells across, and its sides were lined with masonry of large stones, some of which might measure even five ells, but most of those in the depth of the well were one or two ells only in length. A wonder was it how these stones had been set in their places. The water of the well was cold and wholesome to drink, and the people used thereof during all that year, getting it at a depth of eighty ells. But when the winter was come, the water rose abundantly in the well, till it overflowed the brink, and ran over the ground in the bed of the Wādî, and turned mills for grinding flour. Now once (says Abu Muhammad), when there was scarcity of this water and of that in the 'Ain Silwân, I descended with some workmen to the bottom of the

¹ Reynolds, p. 139. The chapter opens with an account of the various traditions connecting the Virgin Mary with the 'Ain Silwân.

² Reynolds, p. 141, and see above, p. 252.

well to dig there, and I saw the water flowing out from under a rock the size of which was a couple of ells by the like in height, and there was a cavern the entrance of which was three ells high by an ell and a half across. From this cavern there rushed out an extremely cold wind, which made the lights nearly go out, and I perceived that the roof of the cavern was lined with masonry. On entering a short distance within it, the torches could not be kept alight by reason of the force of the wind which blew therefrom. This well is in the bed of the Wâdî, and the cave is in its bed too, and above and all around are high steep hills, which a man cannot climb except with much fatigue. This also is the well of which He spake to His prophet Job, saying, "‘Stamp,’ said we, ‘with thy foot. This (fountain) is to wash with; cool and to drink.’"¹ And so the account ends. . . .

Regarding now the pools that are in the Holy City.² On the report of Damrah from Ibn Abi Sûdah, it is related that a certain king of the Kings of the Children of Israel named Ḥazkîl (Hezekiah) constructed six pools for the Holy City, namely, three within the city which are the Birkat Bani Israil, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd; and three without the city which are the Birkat Mâmîlâ and the two Birkats of Al Marjî'. And these he made to store the water for the people of the city.³

¹ Kurân xxxviii. 41. The overflowing of the waters of Job's Well, down the Kedron Valley, is of yearly occurrence. Whether this Well be the Fuller's Spring, En Rogel,—mentioned by Joshua (xi. 7) as on the boundary-line between the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin,—is still a matter of dispute. Robinson (Biblical Researches, 2nd ed. i. 332) asserts this to be the case without doubt; while Conder (Handbook to the Bible, p. 335) advocates the identification of En Rogel with Virgin's Fountains, higher up the Valley under the walls of Jerusalem.

² Reynolds, p. 145.

³ The Birkat (Pool) of the Children of Israel lies to the north of the Haram Area. Which the Birkat of Solomon may be, is matter of question, as also is the identification of the Pool of 'Iyâd. This last takes its name from 'Iyâd ibn Ghauam, a celebrated Companion of the Prophet (who died in A.H. 20 = A.D. 641), and has nothing to do with "Gad," as writes Mr. Reynolds (p. 145). The Pool of Mamilla lies a short distance west of the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem. The Pools of Al Marjî' are those known as Solomon's Pools, some miles from Hebron; from these Pilate's Aqueduct brought the water to the city.

CHAPTER IX.

*Account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Commander of the Faithful 'Omar ibn al Khattâb, and what he did there in uncovering the Noble Rock from the dirt and dung thrown thereon. An account also of 'Abd al Malik ibn Marwân's building, and what he accomplished there. Also an account of the unique pearl that was hung over the middle of the Rock, and the two horns of Abraham's ram, and the crown of the Chosroes, all of which were transported thence to the Noble Ka'abah, at the time when the Caliphate passed to the House of 'Abbas. Also an account of the Conquest of the Holy City by the Franks, whereby it was taken from the hands of the Muslims, after 'Omar's Conquest; and how long it remained in the hands of the Christians. Further, the account of the Conquest thereof by the Sultan, the victorious king, Salâh ad Dîn Yusrîf ibn Ayyûb, whereby it was taken back out of the hands of the Franks, and how he obliterated all trace of their sojourn there, and how he restored the Masjid to what it had been before, and to the condition in which it has remained even unto this day, and please Allah will so remain to the Day of Resurrection.*¹

. . . ² The following is related as coming from Shadâd ibn Aus, who accompanied Omar when he entered the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City on the day when Allah caused it to be reduced by capitulation. And Omar entered by the Gate of Muhammad,³ crawling on his hands and knees, he and all those who were with him, until he came up to the Court (of the Sanctuary). There he looked around to right

¹ Reynolds, p. 154.

² Reynolds, p. 174. Suyûti has copied the whole of this part verbatim out of the Muthir, the text of which, from the Paris MSS., will be found on p. 297. From what sources this very curious account of Omar's proceedings in the Holy City was taken, I am unable to state. But I must repeat that there is nothing of all this in the works of the older annalists, from Tabari to Ibn al Athir. The greater portion of this chapter has already been given in English by the late Professor Palmer in the fourth chapter of his and Mr. Besant's joint work on "Jerusalem—the City of Herod and Saladin." I make no apology, however, for giving it again, for I am able to supply a better text than that on which Professor Palmer worked. Extracts from Suyûti's text, with a Latin version, had previously appeared, edited by P. Lemming, under the title *Commentatio philologica. Specimen libri Ithâf etc., auctore Kemâloddino Muhammede etc.* Hauniæ M.D.CCXXVII.

³ Plan, K.

and to left, and, glorifying Allah, said, "By Allah, verily this, by Him in whose hands is my soul! must be the Mosque of David, of which the Apostle spake to us saying, 'I was conducted thither in the night journey.'" Then Omar advanced to the fore (or southern) part of the Haram Area and to the western side thereof, and said, "Let us make this the place for the Mosque."

On the authority of Al Walîd ibn Muslim,¹ it is reported as coming from a Shaikh of the sons of Shadâd ibn Aus, who had heard it from his father, who held it of his grandfather, that Omar, as soon as he was at leisure from the writing of the Treaty of Capitulation made between him and the people of the Holy City, said to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, "Conduct us to the Mosque of David." And the Patriarch agreed thereto. Then Omar went forth girt with his sword, and with him 4000 of the Companions who had come to Jerusalem with him, all begirt likewise with their swords, and a crowd of us Arabs, who had come up to the Holy City, followed them, none of us bearing any weapons except our swords. And the Patriarch walked before Omar among the Companions, and we all behind the Khalif. Thus we entered the Holy City. And the Patriarch took us to the Church which goes by the name of the Kumâmah,² and said he, "This is David's Mosque." And Omar looked around and pondered, then he answered the Patriarch, "Thou liest, for the Apostle described to me the Mosque of David, and by his description this is not it." Then the Patriarch went on with us to a Church called that of (Sihyân) Sion, and again he said, "This is the Mosque of David." But the Khalif replied to him, "Thou liest." So the Patriarch went on with him till he came to the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and reached the gate thereof, called the Gate of Muhammad. Now the dung which was

¹ Al Walid ibn Muslim, the celebrated traditionist, was a freedman of the Omeyyads, and a native of Damascus. According to Nawâwi (ed. by Wüstenfeld, text, p. 618), he died in A.H. 194 or 195, aged 73.

² Al Kumâmah, literally, 'the Dunghill.' This is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of 'Al Kayâmah,' 'Anastasis,' the name given to the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) by the Christian Arabs.

then all about the Noble Sanctuary had settled on the steps of this gate, so that it even came out into the street in which the gate opened, and it had accumulated so greatly on the steps as almost to reach up to the ceiling of the gateway. The Patriarch said to Omar, "It is impossible to proceed and enter except crawling on hands and knees." Said Omar, "Even on hands and knees be it." So the Patriarch went down on hands and knees, preceding Omar, and we all crawled after him, until he had brought us out into the Court of the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City. Then we arose off our knees and stood upright. And Omar looked around, pondering for a long time. Then said he, "By Him in whose hands is my soul! this is the place described to us by the Apostle of Allah."

And it is reported on other authority to the last, namely, from Hishâm ibn 'Ammâr, who had it from Al Haitham ibn Omar ibn al 'Abbâsî, who related that he had heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allah ibn Abu Abd Allah, tell how, when Omar was Khalif, he went to visit the people of Syria. Omar halted first at the village of Al Jâbiyah,¹ while he despatched a man of Jadilah to the Holy City, but shortly after he became possessed thereof by capitulation. Then Omar himself went thither, and Ka'ab was with him. Said Omar to Ka'ab, "O Abu Ishak, knowest thou the position of the Rock?" and he answered, "Measure from the wall which is on the Wâdî Jahannum so and so many ells; there dig and ye shall discover it," adding, "At this present day it is a dungheap." So they dug there, and the Rock was laid bare. Then said Omar to Ka'ab, "Where sayest thou we should place the Mosque, or rather the Kiblah?" Ka'ab replied, "Lay out a place for it behind the Rock, whereby you will make one the two Kiblahs, that, namely, of Moses, and that of Muhammad." But Omar answered him, "Thou hast leanings still towards the Jews, O Abu Ishak. The Mosque shall be in front of the Rock (not behind it)." And so the Mosque was erected in the fore part of the Haram Area.

¹ In Jaulân.

And on the like authority as the foregoing, and as an addition to what has been said above on the warrant of Ibrahim ibn Abu 'Ablah al Mukaddasi, who had it of his father, saith he: Omar then came to the Holy City, and encamped on the Mount of Olives. And afterwards he descended therefrom, and he entered the Noble Sanctuary by the Gate of the Prophet. Now, when he came to stand erect therein, he gazed to the right and to the left, and exclaimed, "By Him than whom there is no other God! this is the Mosque of Solomon the son of David, of which the Apostle of Allah related to us that he had been brought thereto by night." Then he went to the western part of the Noble Sanctuary and said, "Let us place the Mosque for the Muslims here, to be a place of prayer for them to pray in." And on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz it is related: When Omar conquered the Holy City, he found on the Rock great quantities of dung that the Greeks had thrown down here for an insult to the Children of Israel. And Omar spread his cloak, and began to sweep together all that dung, and so did also the Muslims who accompanied him. . . .

Further, Al Walid adds, on the authority of Sa'id ibn 'Abd al Aziz, that the Letter of the Prophet had come to the Kaisâr (Cæsar) while he was sojourning at the Holy City.¹ Now at that time there was over the Rock of the Holy City a great dungheap, which completely masked the Mihrâb of David, and which same the Christians had put here in order to offend the Jews, and further even, the Christian women were wont to throw here their cloths and clouts, so that it was all heaped up therewith.² Now when the Cæsar had perused the letter of the Prophet,³ he

¹ In the year of the Hijrah 7, the Prophet despatched envoys to the Chosroe of Persia, and to the Cæsar of Byzantium, calling on them to acknowledge his mission as Allah's Apostle.

² The text here appears to me to be corrupt. The general sense, however, is plain enough.

³ As a specimen of Mr. Reynolds' method of translation, the following may be quoted from p. 179, representing the above passages:

"We are also informed by Al Walid that Sa'id Ibn-Abdul-Aziz said, A letter (an epistle) of the Prophet of God (upon whom be the mercy and peace of God!) came to Al Kais; and this it is—in the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, and upon the

cried and said, "O ye men of Greece, verily Ye are the people who shall be slain on this dungheap, for that ye have desecrated the sanctity of this Mosque. And it shall be with you even as it was with the Children of Israel who were slain for the sake of the blood of Yahyâ ibn Zakariyyâ (John the Baptist)." Then the Cæsar commanded them to clear the place, and so they began to do, but when the Muslims invaded Syria only a third part thereof had been cleared. So when Omar had come to the Holy City and conquered it, and saw how there was a dungheap over the Rock, he regarded it as horrible, and ordered that it should be entirely cleared. And to accomplish this they forced the Nabathæans of Palestine to labour without pay. On the authority of Jabîr ibn Nafîr it is related that when Omar first exposed the Rock to view, by removing the dungheap, he commanded them not to pray there until three showers of heavy rain should have fallen. Al Walid further relates, as coming from Kulthûm ibn Ziyâd, that Omar asked of Ka'ab, "Where thinkest thou that we should put the place of prayer for Muslims in this Holy Sanctuary?" Said Ka'ab, in answer, "In the hinder (or northern) portion thereof, in the part adjoining the Gate of the Tribes," but Omar said, "Not so; seeing that, on the contrary, to us belongs the fore part of the Sanctuary," and he then proceeded to the fore part thereof. Al Walid again relates—on the authority of Ibn Shaddâd, who had it of his father—"Omar proceeded to the fore part of the Sanctuary Area to the side adjoining the west (*i.e.* to the south-west part), and there began to throw the dung by handfulls into his cloak, and we all who were with him did likewise. Then he went with it—and we following him to do the same—and threw it into the Wâdî which is called

Sakhrâ of the Bait-ul-Mukaddas, there shall be a great sewer, whereby the tower of David (on whom be salutation!) is spoiled by the injurious abuse of the lying Christians, in order to hurt the Jews, until those changing times shall come that the cities be stirred up to wrest the precinct from Greece. Then shall the Sakhrâ be met with. Therefore said Al Kais, when he read this epistle of the Prophet of God," etc., etc.

There is here a specimen of nearly every kind of blunder. A whole passage is interpolated, the very common word *Kaisar*, Cæsar, is read twice over as an Arab proper name, Al Kais.

Wâdî Jahannum. Then we returned to do the like over again, and yet again,—he, Omar, and also we who were with him,—until we had cleared the whole of the place where the Mosque now stands. And there we all made our prayers, Omar himself praying among us. . . .

. . . .¹ Now when Omar made the capitulation with the people of the Holy City, and entered among them, he was wearing at that time two long tunics (*kamîs*) of the kind called *Sumbulânî*.² He prayed in the Church of Mary, and when he had done so he spat on to one of his tunics. And it was said to him, “Dost thou spit here, because that this is a place in which the sin of polytheism has been committed?” and he answered, “Yea, verily the sin of polytheism hath been committed herein, but now in truth the name of Allah hath been pronounced here.” It is further reported that Omar did carefully avoid praying near the Wâdî Jahannum. . . .

³The Khalif 'Abd al Malik it was who built the Dome of the Rock and the (Akse) Mosque of the Holy City, and according to report he devoted to the expenses of the same the revenues (*kharâj*) of Egypt for the space of seven years. The historian Sibṭ al Jauzi states in his work, the *Mirât az Zamân*, that 'Abd al Malik began the building here in the year 69 of the Hijrah, and completed the same in the year 72. (A.D. 687–690). But others say that he who first built the Dome (of the Rock) of the Holy City was Sa'id the son of the Khalif 'Abd al Malik, and that he afterwards too restored it. Now on the authority of Rijâ ibn Hayâh, and of Yazîd ibn Sallâm,⁴ 'Abd al Malik's freedman, it is reported

¹ Reynolds, p. 182. The text of this passage is not from the *Muthîr*, and where Suyûtî obtained it I do not know.

² Lane, in his great Dictionary (v. sub voce) says that the *Kamîs Sumbulânî* is a shirt ample in length, so as to reach down to the ground, and adds that it is so called in relation to a town or district in the Greek Empire. The Church of Mary (*Kanîsah Maryam*), here mentioned, may be the Church of the Virgin described by Procopius.

³ This is the beginning of the sixth chapter of the *Muthîr* (see p. 300 for the text). Reynolds, p. 184.

⁴ Abu'l Mikdâm Rijâ ibn Hayâh ibn Jarûl, of the Kendah tribe, was a man celebrated for his learning, and a great friend of the Khalif Omar (II.) ibn 'Abd al Azîz. Yazîd ibn Sallâm, his colleague, was a native of Jerusalem.

that on the occasion of the building the Dome of the Rock of the Holy City and the Aksa Mosque, the Khalif came himself from Damascus to Jerusalem, and thence despatched letters into all the Provinces, and to all the Governors of cities, as follows: "'Abd al Mâlik doth wish to build a Dome over the Rock in the Holy City, whereby to shelter the Muslims from heat and cold; as also a Mosque. But he wisheth not to do this thing without knowing the will of his subjects. Therefore let his subjects write to him their desires and whatever may be their will."¹ And letters came back to him from the governors of the Provinces which assured the Commander of the Faithful of the full approval of all men, and that they deemed his intention a fitting and pious one. And said they: "We ask of Allah to give completion to what the Khalif doth undertake in the matter of building in the Noble Sanctuary, and the Dome therein and the Mosque; and may it succeed under his hand, for it is a noble deed both for him and for those who follow after him." Then the Khalif brought together craftsmen from all parts of his empire, and commanded that they should set forth the proportions and elevation of the building before they began to build the Dome itself. So they laid out the plan thereof in the Court of the Haram Area.² And he commanded them to build a Treasure House on the east side of the Rock, and the same is the building which stands close beside the Rock.³ So they began to build: And the Khalif set apart great sums of money, and instituted to be overseers thereof Rijâ ibn Hayâh, and Yazîd ibn Sallâm, commanding them to spend the same, and giving

¹ The text as given in the Muthîr (p. 300) is, I think, corrupt; but there can be no doubt of the general import.

² I am by no means sure of my translation of this passage. If we read *Suffat-al-Kubbat*, it would mean "the porch of the Dome," i.e. one of the porches at the four gates. I prefer, however, to read *Sifat*, and to translate as I have done. Mujîr ad dîn in the corresponding passage (p. 241 of the Bulâk text, printed in A.H. 1283) gives quite a different reading. What he says is: "And 'Abd al Mâlik carefully described to the artificers what he wished to be built, and how it should stand. And while he remained in the Holy City, the architects built for him the small Dome which stands to the east of the Dome of the Rock, and is now called the Dome of the Chain. And this he so much admired that he ordered the Kubbat as Sakbrah (the Dome of the Rock) to be built like it."

³ Now called the Dome of the Chain, Plan, c.

them authority therein. So they made expenditure for digging the foundations, and building up the structure, until the moneys were near to be all expended. Now when the edifice was complete and solidly constructed, so that not a word could be said for improvement thereto, they wrote to the Khalif at Damascus: "Allah hath given completion to what the Commander of the Faithful commanded concerning the building the Dome over the Rock of the Holy City, and the Aksa Mosque also. And no word can be said to suggest improvement thereto. And verily there remaineth over and above of what the Commander of the Faithful did set apart for the expense of the same,—the building being now complete and solidly built,—a sum of 100,000 (gold) dinârs. Let the Commander of the Faithful expend the same in whatever matter seemeth good to him." And the Khalif wrote to them in reply: "Let this then be a gift unto you two for what ye have accomplished in the building of this noble and blessed house." But to this they sent in answer:—"Nay rather, first let us add to this the ornaments of our women and the superfluity of our wealth, and then do thou expend the whole in what seemeth best to thee." So the Khalif wrote to command them to melt down the sum and apply it to the adornment of the Dome. And all this sum was melted down and laid out to adorn the Dome of the Rock, to such an extent that it was impossible by reason of the gold thereon for any one to keep the eye fixed and look at it.

They prepared also two coverings to go over the Dome, of felts and of skins of animals, and the same was put over it in the winter to preserve it from the rains and the winds and the snows. Rijâ ibn Hayâh and Yazid ibn Sallâm also surrounded the Rock with a lattice-screen of Sâsim (or ebony wood), and outside the screen they hung between the columns curtains of brocade.¹ Each day fifty-and-two

¹ Mr. Reynolds' translation (p. 187) of the foregoing passages is so remarkable that I quote it, in further proof of my assertion that his work needs emendation. 'Then he [the Caliph] wrote to them, "A great sum hath been expended and paid by the public for the chapel; therefore I will spend and lay out upon it (money for the purchase of) that which every one may look at—gold work, and ornament

persons were employed to pound and grind down saffron, working by night also, and leavening it with musk and ambergris, and rose-water of the Jûri rose. At early dawn the servants appointed entered the Bath of Sulaimân¹ ibn 'Abd al Malik, where they washed and purified themselves before proceeding to the Treasure Chamber (al Khazânah), in which was kept the (yellow perfume of saffron called) Khulûk. And, before leaving the Treasure Chamber, they changed all their clothes, putting on new garments made of the stuffs of Marv and Herât, also shawls (of the striped cloths of Yaman) called 'Aşb, and taking jewelled girdles they girt them about their waists. Then bearing the jars of Khulûk in their hands, they went forth and anointed therewith the stone of the Rock, even as far as they could reach up to with their hands, spreading it all over the same. And for the part beyond that which they could reach, having first washed their feet, they attained thereto by mounting on the Rock itself, anointing all that remained thereof, and by this the jars of Khulûk were completely emptied. Then they brought censers of gold and of silver filled with aloes wood of Kimâr (in Java), and the incense called Nadd, compounded with musk and ambergris, and letting down the curtains between the columns, they swung to and fro the censers, and the incense would rise into all the space between the columns and the Dome above by reason of the quantity thereof. Which done and the curtains again drawn up, the censers were carried outside the building, whereby the sweet smell went abroad, even to the entrance of the market beyond, so that all who passed therein could scent the perfume. After this the censers were extinguished. Proclamation then was made by criers from before the screen,—“The Sakhrah, verily, is

a sort of common part (which all may be permitted to behold), of mosaic, outside; and there also, a second, to be a covering against rain and wind and snow.” But Rijah-ibn-Haywah and Yazîd ibn Salâm had already surrounded it with a screen of lattice-work, with small interstices, and a curtain of silk hanging loosely between pillars.’

¹ The MSS. of Suyûtî give “Hammâm Sulaimân” only, as though it were King Solomon. I have found no notice of this bath elsewhere. The Jûri rose is named from the town of Jûr or Gûr, in Persia, afterwards called Fairûzâbâd, which was so celebrated for its roses as to be surnamed *Bald al Ward*, the City of Roses (see Yakût, ii. 147).

open for the people, and he who would pray therein, let him come." The people hastened to come and make their prayer in the Sakhrâh, the most of them performing two Rika'abs,¹ while some few acquitted themselves of four. And after, he who had thus said his prayers had gone forth again, they would perceive on him the perfume of the incense, and say, "Such a one has been in the Sakhrâh." (After the prayer-time is over, the servants) wash off with water the marks left by the people's feet, cleaning everywhere with green myrtle (brooms), and drying with cloths.² Then the gates are closed, and for guarding each were appointed ten chamberlains, since none might enter the Sakhrâh, except the servants thereof, on other days than the Monday and the Friday.

On the authority of Abu Bakr ibn al Hârith, it is reported that during the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik the Sakhrâh was entirely lighted with (oil of) the Midian Bân (the Tamarisk or Myrobalan) tree, and oil of Jasmin,³ of a lead colour. And the chamberlains had said to the Khalif, "O Abu Bakr, command for us candelabra with lamps (kandîl) in which we may put oil, for the same would be more agreeable unto us." And the Khalif granted them their request. Such are the matters which pertain to the days of the Caliphate of 'Abd al Malik.

Saith Al Walîd, it hath been related to me by 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit, who said, I have it of my father, who had it of his father, and he from his grandfather,

¹ Prayer prostrations.

² What *Mashdnt* or *Masdnî* mean I do not know; the word is omitted in the MSS. of Suyûtî. Mr. Reynolds has completely misunderstood these paragraphs. I quote a single passage (p. 189), that, namely, which is supposed to give the translation of the above sentence. "Then the men went out; and whosoever smelt the smell of their incense said, 'This is from some one who has entered the Sakhrâ; and they washed the soles of their feet, and slightly passed a moistened hand over their face, at the threshold of St. George, and napkins were wetted, and gates were split open (i.e. *although they only slightly wetted their faces, and then wiped them with a napkin, yet, from the number who did this, the napkins were entirely wet, and from the rush of their entrance the gates were split open*). Also at every gate were ten beadles," etc. I need hardly point out that the commentary introduced with "i.e." is as much beside the mark as the remainder of the translation. The text of all this may be seen on p. 302.

³ The MSS. read, some *Zambak*, which is 'Oil of Jasmin,' and some *Zîbak*, which is 'Quicksilver.' If the latter be right, and it concords better with *ar-rasâsî* 'of lead,' I fail to comprehend how the Mosque was lighted with 'Quicksilver of lead.' Mr. Reynolds offers no solution, for he leaves these words out.

that in the days of 'Abd al Malik there was suspended from the chain hanging down in the middle of the Dome of the Rock a single unique pearl, also the two horns of the Ram of Abraham, and the Crown of the Cosroes. But when the Caliphate passed to the Abbasides, they had all these transported to the Ka'abah, which may Allah preserve.

On the authority of the Hâfidh ibn 'Asâkir, the testimony going back to Abul Ma'âli Al Mukaddasî,¹ it is related how 'Abd al Malik built the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa Mosque; which, further, is inserted by the author of the Muthîr al Gharâm in his seventh chapter,² citing 'Ukbah as his authority, and continuing to the following effect: Now in those days there were in use in the Mosque 6000 beams of wood for the ceilings, besides the beams for the wooden pillars. And the doors were 50 in number. There were 600 pillars of marble, and seven Mihrâbs, and of chains for suspending the candelabra 400 minus 15 (i.e. 385), of which 230 were in the Aksa Mosque, and the remainder (i.e. 155) in the Dome of the Rock. The length of all these chains put together was 4000 ells, and their weight 43,000 Syrian (pounds or) ratls.³ There were 5000 lamps, and in addition to these they were wont to light 2000 wax candles on Friday nights, and on the middle nights of the months of Rajab, Sha'aban, and Ramadhân, as also on the nights of the Two (Great) Festivals. (In the various parts of the Haram Area) are 15 (small) Domes, besides the (Great) Dome of the Rock, and on the Mosque roof there were 7700 sheets of lead, each sheet weighing 70 ratls, Syrian measure, and this did not include what was on the roof which covered the Dome of the Rock. All this was of that which was done in the days of 'Abd al Malik. And this Khalif appointed for the perpetual service of the Noble Sanctuary 300 servants, who were (slaves) purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth from the Treasury; and as these servants in time died off, each man's

¹ See above, p. 253.

² See p. 303.

³ The ratl (from the Greek λίτρα) is of about 6 lbs. English.

son, or his son's son, or some member of his family, was appointed in his place. And so the service has continued on for all time, generation after generation; and they receive their rations from the public treasury. In the Haram Area there are 24 great water cisterns, and of minarets 4, to wit, three in a line on the west side of the Noble Sanctuary, and one that rises above the Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes). And among the servants of the Haram there were Jews, from whom was exacted no poll-tax; originally there were ten men, but their families increasing the number rose to twenty, and it was their business to sweep up the dust left by the people at the times of visitation both in summer and in winter, and also to clean the places of ablution that lay round the Aksa Mosque. There were also ten Christian servants of the Noble Sanctuary, whose office went by inheritance likewise. These made and likewise swept the mats of the Mosque. They also swept out the conduits which carried the water into the cisterns, and as well attended to the keeping clean of the cisterns themselves, and other such service. And among the servants of the Sanctuary, too, were another company of Jews who made the glass plates for the lamps, and the glass lantern bowls, and glass vessels and rods. And it was appointed that from these men also no poll-tax was to be taken, nor from those who made the wicks for the lamps, and this exemption continued in force for all time, both to them and their children who inherited the office after them, even from the days of 'Abd al Malik, and so for ever.

On the authority of 'Abd ar Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Mansur ibn Thâbit from his father, who had it from his grandfather, it is reported that in the days of 'Abd al Malik all the gates of the Mosque were covered with plates of gold and of silver. But during the reign of Abu Ja'afar al Mansûr, in the year 130 (A.D. 746), both the eastern and the western portions of the Mosque fell down, and it was reported to the Khalif, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, the earthquake hath thrown down the eastern part of the Mosque and the western part thereof also, now therefore give orders

to rebuild the same and raise it again." And the Khalif replied that as there were no moneys in his treasury, (to supply the lack of coin) they should strip off the plates of gold and of silver that overlaid the gates. So they stripped these off and coined therefrom dinârs and dirhems, which were expended on the rebuilding of the Mosque, even till it was completed. Then occurred the second earthquake, and the building that Al Mansûr had commanded to be built fell to the ground. In the days of Al Mahdi, who succeeded him, the Mosque was still lying in ruins, which, being reported to him, he commanded them to rebuild the same, adding that the Mosque had been (of old) too narrow, and of too great a length,—and for this reason it had not been used by the people,—so now in rebuilding it they were to curtail its length and increase its breadth. The restoration of the Mosque was completed on this plan during his reign. In the year 452 (A.D. 1060) the Great Lantern (Tannûr) that hung in the Dome of the Rock fell down, and there were in it 500 lamps. Those of the Muslims who were there augured evil therefrom, saying, "Of a surety there will happen some portentous event in Islâm."

Al Walîd further writes, on the warranty of Abu 'Amir ibn Damrah, who said it on the authority of 'Atâ, who had it of his father, that in early days it was the Jews who were appointed to light the lamps in the Noble Sanctuary, but that when Omar ibn 'Abd al Aziz¹ came to reign, he deprived them of this office, and set in their place servants who had been purchased with moneys of the Royal Fifth. And a certain man of these servants, a slave bought of the Royal Fifth, came once to him and said, "Give me manumission, O Khalif!" but Omar answered, "How then! for verily I cannot emancipate thee! but shouldst thou depart (of thine own accord), behold I have no power over a hair even of the hairs of thy dog!"²

¹ The Omeyyad Khalif, who reigned at Damascus A.H. 99-101 (A.D. 717-720).

² The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and its re-conquest by Saladin; the details of which being matters of history, and fully treated of in other works, need not detain us here.

CHAPTER X.

An account of those who have entered the Holy City, of the various Prophets, and also of the Companions of the Prophet and of their Followers, and others besides. Further, an enumeration of such of them as have died and been buried in the Holy City. Also how all nations—with the exception of the Samaritans—do hold in honour the Holy City.¹

CHAPTER XI.

Concerning the excellence of our lord Abraham the Friend, and the excellence of visitation to his abode. And an account of his birth, with the story of how he was thrown into the fire. Also of his hospitality and generosity. Also how he is the Friend of Allah, and how this title is peculiar to him. Account of his circumcision, and of his wearing breeches, and of the greyness of his hair; also of his kindness and goodness to all men, and of his benevolent ways and agreeable manners, such as none before him had ever shown forth, and which may be as an ensample and rule of conduct to all who come after him. Also an account of his life and the story of his death, and of the garment he shall put on on the Day of Resurrection.²

CHAPTER XII.

Concerning Abraham's temptation in the matter of the Sacrifice, and of his own son who was the victim. Also the life of Isaac, and the age that his father and mother had attained at the time of his birth. An account of his mother Sarah, and the exception in her favour as to her prophesying, and as to her being able to prophesy; also notice of such other women beside her who did so. The story of Jacob and his life, also incidents from the history of his son Joseph, his appearance, and how many years he was parted from his father Jacob, and how long he was estranged from him. And of his sepulture, and what time elapsed between him and Moses.³

¹ Reynolds, p. 280.

² Reynolds, p. 320.

³ Reynolds, p. 354.

CHAPTER XIII.

Description of the Cave in which Abraham and his children were buried; and how the same was bought from the king of that country by name 'Afrân (Ephron the Hittite). And who was the first to be buried in that cave, and what are the monuments over the graves therein, and what proof there is of the genuineness of the graves. How Solomon built the Sepulchre that is there, and of the advantages to be derived from visiting the above-mentioned tombs. The discovery of the place of Joseph's sepulture; also how the place around the tombs came to be a Mosquo, and of permission to enter therein, and how it was called the Haram. Also of the lands given in fief by the Prophet to Tumim ad Dârî and those of his tribe who came with him, and the deed which the Prophet wrote for them in witness thereof.

. . .¹ It is reported by Ibn 'Asâkir, on a chain of tradition going back to Ka'ab al Ahbar, that the first person who died and was buried at Hebron was Sarah. . . . Then Abraham himself died and was buried at her side. Then Isaac's wife Rebecca died and was buried there, and Isaac himself later was buried beside his wife. When Jacob died, he was buried at the mouth of the cave, and when his wife Likâ (Leah) came also to die, she was buried beside him. Then the sons of Jacob met together, and also Esau and his brethren, and they said, "Let us leave the entrance of the cavern open, so that when any die he may be buried therein." But afterwards a dispute arose among them, and one of the brothers of Esau, or, as some say, one of the sons of Jacob, raised his hand and struck Esau a blow that caused his head to fall off and roll into the cave. And they carried forth his body and buried it without the head, for the head remained within the cave. And the cave they closed by a wall. Then over each grave they erected a monument, inscribing on each severally "This is the tomb of Abraham," "This is the tomb of Sarah," and so forth, after which they all departed, closing the gates. . . .²

¹ Reynolds, p. 359.

² The following curious account of a visit to the Cave of Machpelah has been copied by Suyûtî verbatim from Chapter XV. of Ishak al Khalîlî's "History of Hebron," mentioned above, p. 252.

Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatîb, who was Khatîb (Preacher) of Abraham's station, has reported as having heard Muhammad ibn Ahmad the grammarian relate the following; and it is given in his own words: Once I went with the Kâdî Abu 'Amr 'Othmân ibn Ja'far ibn Shâdhân to visit the tomb of Abraham—upon him peace. We had sojourned there for the space of three days, when, on the fourth, the Kâdî approached the inscription which is facing the tomb of Rebecca, Isaac's wife, and ordered it to be washed, that the writing thereon might be made clear; and he set me to copy all that was on the stone, in exact facsimile, on a roll of paper that we had brought. And after this he returned to Ar Ramlah;¹ where he brought together men of all tongues to read what was thereon, but no one among them was able to interpret it; but they agreed that the same was in the language of the ancient Greeks, and that if any one there were who knew how to read it, it would be a certain Shaikh of Aleppo. So the Kâdî Abu 'Amr sent expressly to this Shaikh requesting his presence at Ar Ramlah, and when he had arrived he caused me also to be present. And behold he that was come was a very ancient man; and this Shaikh from Aleppo dictated to me as follows, being the translation of what I had copied: "In the divine and adored Name, the sublime, the mighty, the well-directing, the strong, the powerful! Verily the mound which is facing this is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and that which lies near thereto is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound over against this is the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, and the mound which faces it on the eastern side is the Tomb of Sarah his wife. The further mound, which lies beyond that of the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjoining it is the Tomb of Îliyâ (Leah), Jacob's wife. And Esau wrote this with his own handwriting."

² [Further, Muhammad ibn Bakrân speaks of another

¹ At that time the capital of Filastîn.

² This second account is omitted by Suyûtî.

account, and that the copy of the inscription cut on the above-mentioned stone, lying to the east, stated that the head of Adam—peace be on him—was therein, the interpretation thereof being as follows:—"In the divine and adored Name, the high, the mighty, the victorious, the strong, the puissant—this mound which lies near this inscription is the Tomb of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, and the mound thereto adjacent westwards is the Tomb of Isaac. The great mound which lies on the opposite side, and corresponding thereto, is the Tomb of Abraham, and the mound which is facing this to the east thereof is the Tomb of his wife Sarah. The mound that lies farthest off, but in a line with the Tomb of Abraham the Friend, is the Tomb of Jacob, and the mound adjacent thereunto and to the east thereof, is the Tomb of his wife İliyâ—the benediction of Allah and His mercy and His blessing be upon them all, for purity lieth in His grace."

These then are the two accounts.] Muhammad ibn Bakrân Al Khatîb notes that the name of (Leah) Jacob's wife is İliyâ, but that in some books her name is written Layâ (or Liyâ), and she is known also as Lîka, but Allah knows alone the truth thereof. The Kâdî mentioned in the first account—Abu Amr 'Othman ibn Ja'afar ibn Shâdhân—was a judge of high renown and well known; the narrator of the account, however, was not certain as to the exact name of his father; I have reason to believe that he was 'Othman son of Muhammad ibn Shâdhân. He was Kâdî (Judge) of Ar Ramlah during the Khalifat of Ar Râdî billah, in the year 320 and odd (A.D. 932), and the years following. He is an authority for Traditions, which he held at many hands, and a great number of very learned Traditionists also cite him as their authority.

The Hâfiz Ibn 'Asâkir writes: In a certain book of Traditions I read and copied the following: 'Muhammad ibn Bakrân ibn Muhammad al Khatîb—who was Khatîb of the Masjid of Abraham the Friend—states (having heard it from Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Ja'afar al Anbari, who himself had heard Abu Bakr al Askâfi give the

account), as follows: "With me it is of a surety that the Tomb of Abraham is at the spot now shown as the same, for I have looked on it and seen it with my own eyes. And it was after this manner:—I had expended great sums, amounting to nearly 4000 dinârs, on the Holy Place and its Guardians, hoping thereby to obtain favour of Allah—may He be exalted—and I wished also to convince myself of the exactitude of what was reported concerning (Abraham's tomb). So when the hearts (of the Guardians of the Holy Place) were won by all that I had done there in the way of pious deeds and generous giving, and in the making of presents, and honourably entreating of them, and other such bounties, I proposed to get at the root of the truth which my heart desired to know. So, on a certain day, I said to the Guardians, when we were all assembled together, 'I would fain ask of you to conduct me to the door of the Cave, that I may descend therein and be a witness for myself (of the tombs) of the Prophets. The Benediction of Allah and His mercy be upon them.' The Guardians answered me, 'We would certainly agree to do this for thee, for thou hast put us greatly in thy debt, but at this present time the matter is impossible, for travellers are constant in arriving,—but do thou have patience till the winter shall have come.' And when the month of the II. Kanûn (January) was entered, I went to them again, but they said to me, 'Remain with us yet awhile until the snow falls.' So I remained with them till the snow fell. Now when the travellers had ceased coming, the Guardians brought me to where was the stone which lies between the Tomb of Abraham the Friend and that of Isaac,—Peace be on them both,—and they raised this slab, and one of them, a man of the name of Sa'lûk, a just man, who did many pious works, prepared to descend to guide me. And he descended, and I with him and following him. We went down seventy-two steps, until we came to a place on the right as it were a great bier built of black stones—even like a merchant's stall in the bazaar—whereon lay the body of an aged man, on his back, long-bearded and hairy of cheek, with clothes of a green colour upon him. Said

Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Isaac—peace be on him!' Then we went a little further, and came to a yet larger bier than the first, and upon it extended on his back lay an aged man, the hair on his breast already whitened with age, and his head and beard and eyebrows and eyelashes white also. Under his white hair there appeared green garments, which covered his body and also the greater part of the bier, and the wind blew about his white locks to right and to left. Said Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Abraham the Friend,' and I threw myself upon my face glorifying Allah—may He be praised and magnified—for what He had vouchsafed to me. Then we continued on yet again and came to a smaller bier, on which lay an old man, with a face much browned by the sun, and a thick beard. On his body there were green clothes, which covered him over. Said Sa'lûk to me, 'This is Jacob, the Prophet—on him be Peace!' Then we turned to go to the right, as though to go to the Harem." "At this point (says Muhammad al Anbari) Abu Bakr al Askâfî swore to me that his story must end. So I arose from beside him, the time of the visit and his telling me of all this having drawn to a close. But at my convenience I went later to the Masjid Ibrahim (Hebron), and, coming to the Mosque, inquired for Sa'lûk. Said they to me, 'In an hour he will be here.' And when he came, I went to him, and sitting down beside him, began to tell him part of the story. But he looked on me with an eye that would have denied all knowledge of the circumstances related by me. Then I turned towards him to gain his favour, and showed him that I was free of evil intent, for that Abu Bakr al Askâfî was as my paternal uncle, whereby he began to incline to me. And I said to him, 'O Sa'lûk, by Allah! when ye did turn as though to go towards the Harem, what happened, and what was it that ye saw?' And he said to me, 'But did not Abu Bakr tell thee thereof?' I answered, 'I desire to hear of it from thee.' Then said he, 'We heard, as coming from out near the Harem, a voice of one crying—*Depart ye from the Harem! and Allah have mercy on you*—and we fell down and lost all sense. After a time we came to ourselves again

and arose, but we despaired of life, and our companions (above) had despaired of us also.'

The Shaikh further told me that Abu Bakr al Askâfî lived on but a few days after he had related to him this account, and Sa'lûk also died shortly after—Allah have mercy on them both."¹

¹ I have given this curious account in extenso, for it has been copied by many later Arab historians and abridged. The following version of this and also a notice of another visit to the Cave has appeared to me worth translating from the pages of Yakût's great Geographical Dictionary (ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. ii. p. 468, s.v. Al Khalil).

The place is called Al Khalil; originally, however, it was named Habrûn, and also Habrâ; and in the Books of Moses it is written how Al Khalil (the Friend of God, Abraham) bought a piece of ground from Afrân ibn Sûhâr al Haithî (Ephron the son of Zochar the Hittite) for four hundred dirhems of silver, and buried therein Sarah. Many of the Traditionists are of this town; and it is a pleasant, wholesome, and agreeable place, wherein many blessed sights are to be seen. It is said that its fortress was built by Solomon the son of David. Al Harawî relates as follows: "I went to Jerusalem in the year 567 (A.D. 1172), and both there and at Hebron I made the acquaintance of certain Shaikhs, who informed me that in the year 513 (A.D. 1119), during the reign of King Bardawîl (Baldwin II.) a certain part over the Cave of Abraham had given way, and that a number of the Franks had, by the King's permission, made their entrance therein. And they found (the bodies of) Abraham and Isaac and Jacob—peace be upon them—their shrouds having fallen to pieces, lying propped up against a wall. Over each of their heads were lamps, and their heads were uncovered. Then the King, after providing new shrouds, caused the place to be closed once more." Al Harawî continues: "I once read, when attending the lectures of As Sufî, that a certain man, who is called the Armenian, being of a mind to make his visitation at Hebron, gave large sums in presents to the Guardians (of the shrine), and had asked one of them whether it were not possible for him to take him down to see the (body of the) Patriarch—on whom be peace. The man replied that at that time it was not possible, but that if he would wait till the press of pilgrims was over, that he could do it. And so (when the time of the pilgrimage) was passed, he raised up a stone flag (in the floor of the Mosque), and taking a lamp with him, he and the other descended some seventy steps to a spacious cavern. The air here was blowing freely, and there was a platform on which lay extended (the body of) Abraham, peace be on him, clothed in green garments, and the wind as it blew tossed about his white locks. At his side lay Isaac and Jacob. And the guide went on with him to the walls of the cavern, telling him that behind the wall lay Sarah, and he had in intention to show him what was beyond the wall, but lo! a voice cried out, saying, 'Beware, for it is the Haram!' The narrator adds that he returned and came up by the way he had gone down."

The person quoted by Yakût is Abu'l Hasan Ali al Harawî (of Herât), who died in A.H. 611 (A.D. 1215) at Aleppo, and wrote a book describing the Holy Places of Palestine, of which work a MS. exists in the Bodleian Library. In Ibn al Athîr's Chronicle, under the events of the year 513 (A.D. 1119), that is in the very year mentioned by Al Harawî, there is the notice "That in this year was opened the Tomb of Abraham, and those of his two sons Isaac and Jacob, at a place near the Holy City. Many people saw them. Their limbs had nowise been disturbed, and beside them were placed lamps of gold and of silver."

All the extant notices of visits to the sepulchres of the Patriarchs at Hebron are ably brought together and discussed by Comte Riant, in a paper inserted at p. 411 of the Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol. ii. 1884. On Hebron in general, the note given by M. Quatrenère in the Appendix (p. 239) to vol. i. part ii. of his Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks (one of the most useful of the Oriental Translation Fund Publications), may with advantage be consulted.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the birth of Ishmael and how he went to Mekkah, also how our lord Abraham rode thither on the steed Al Burák to visit him and his mother Hagar. Also of Hagar's death and burial, and Ishmael's age and his burial, and how many were the years that elapsed between his death and the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.¹

CHAPTER XV.

The story of Lot, and the place of his sepulture. Also description of the Cave which is below the Old Mosque, and facing it on the west. And of the Mosque al Yakîn, and the Cave which lies to the west thereof.²

The Shaikh Abu 'Ukbah 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad, the Hanifite, of Marv, says, I have read in certain of the Lives of the Prophets that Lot lies buried in a village called Kafar Barík, lying about a farsakh from Masjid al Khalil (Hebron); and that in the cave to the west, beneath the Old Mosque, lie 60 Prophets, of whom 20 were also Apostles. And Lot's tomb has been a place of visitation and veneration from ancient times, the men of the age succeeding those who have gone before.

The author³ of the Kitáb al Badî' fi Tafsîl al Mamlakat al Islâm, says that at a distance of a farsakh from Hebron is a small mountain which overhangs the Lake of Zughar. This is the site of Lot's Villages, and a Mosque has been built here by Abu Bakr as Sabâhî, in which is preserved Abraham's bedstead; it is sunk in the earth to the depth of an ell. It is related that when Abraham perceived the Villages of Lot before him in the air, he stood still there (or lay down), and cried out, "I testify that He is the Truth, the Certain (Al Yakîn)." Hence this Mosque was named Masjid al Yakîn.

At Tadmûrî,⁴ however, states that he never found any one whose works he had read, among the writers of history, who

¹ Reynolds, p. 370.

² Reynolds, p. 377.

³ That is, the well-known geographer Al Mukaddasi.

⁴ At Tadmûrî, the Palmyrene, is Abu'l Fidâ Ishâk al Khalilî, mentioned above, p. 252.

mentioned aught of Lot's death, or of his life, or of his tomb. Here ends the account. . . .

CHAPTER XVI.

*As to what is related concerning the burial-place of our lord Moses, and concerning his life, and his prayer at his place of sepulture. Also his benevolence to the people and his compassion for them. And mention of certain of his miracles and why he was called Moses, besides other matters.*¹

CHAPTER XVII.

*Concerning the excellence of Syria, and what has been said thereon of old and in the chronicles. Also the reason of its being called Ash Shâm (Syria), and the delineation of its frontiers. Also the Traditions of the Prophet relating to this land and its inhabitants, and its being the home of true believers and the centre pillar of Islâm. Also the prayer of the Prophet in favour of this land, and an account of all the places therein that are desirable places for visitation and holy places where prayers are granted. Also a general and particular advertisement of all that concerns the same.*²

¹ Reynolds, p. 378.

² Reynolds, p. 391. Suyûti's description of Damascus, and his account of the building of the Mosque by the Khalîf al Walid is too lengthy to insert here. Besides, Suyûti is not an original authority on these points, and nearly all the information he gives may be found, in a slightly different form, translated into French, and inserted by Quatremère in a long note (vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 262) to his *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*. It may, however, be worth while to give what Suyûti writes of the political divisions of Syria, noting that on this subject he merely copies word for word what the author of the Muthîr had written in A.D. 1351. Mr. Reynolds has given not a few misreadings (p. 394, *et seq.*). The first town of Syria, says the Muthîr, is Bâlis (not Bayâs, as in R.), and the last Al 'Arish of Egypt. Syria is divided into five districts, namely—1. Filastîn, whose capital is Iliyâ (Aelia), eighteen miles from Ar Ramlah, which is the Holy City, the metropolis of David and Solomon. Of its towns are Ascalon, Hebron, Sebastiah, and Nâbulûs. 2. Haurân, whose capital is Tiberias, with its lake, whereof mention occurs in the Traditions anent Gog and Magog; and 'tis said that at the time of the birth of him (i.e. the Prophet), whom Allah bless and keep in peace (*fi waḳti wilâdutihi sallâ Allahu 'alaihi wa sallama*, which Mr. Reynolds renders, "in the time of Walâdat"), the Lake overflowed. Of its territories are those of the Ghôr, the Yarmûk (Hieromax), and of Baisân (Bethshean, Seythopolis), which is the town of whose palm trees the Antichrist (ad Dajjâl) will enquire (Reynolds has, "from whose palm trees pitch is sought, whence its name Al Bîjjulat, the Tigris"). Also the Jordan, more often called Ash Shari'ah. 3. The Ghâtah. Its capital is Damascus; Tripoli is on its coast. 4. Hims (Emessa; the name of the province, and of its chief town). Of its dependencies is the city of Salamaniah (Salamiinas. Reynolds writes 'Salamît'). 5. Kinnasrîn (not 'Kinnarîn' as in Reynolds). Its chief town is Aleppo, and of its dependencies are Sarmin (not 'Samwil,' as in Reynolds) and Antioch.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MUTHÎR AL GHARÂM.¹*From the Fifth Chapter of the Muthîr al Gharâm.*

² روى عن شداد بن اوس انه حضر مع عمر بن الخطاب رضى حين دخل مسجد بيت المقدس يوم فاتحها الله جل ثناؤه بالصلح فدخل من باب محمد صلعم حبوا هو و من معه حتى ظهر الى صحنه ثم نظريميننا و شمالا ثم كبر ثم قال هذا والله او هذا والذى نفسى بيده مسجد داود عم الذى اخبرنا رسول الله صلعم انه اسرى به اليه و تقدم الى مقدمة مما يلى الغرب و قال نتخذ هاهنا مسجداً قال الوليد ايضا اخبرنى ابن شداد عن ابيه عن جده ان عمر لما فرغ من كتاب الصلح بينه و بين اهل بيت المقدس قال لبطريقها دلى على مسجد داود عم قال نعم قال فخرج عمر متقلدا بسيفه فى اربعة الاف من اصحابه الذين قدموا معه متقلدين سيوفهم و طائفة منا ممن كان عليها ليس عليها من السلاح الا السيوف و البطريق بين يدى عمر فى اصحابه و نحن خلف عمر حتى دخلنا مدينة بيت المقدس فادخلنا الكنيسة التى يقولون لها كنيسة القمامة و قال هذا مسجد داود قال فنظر عمر رضى و تأمل فقال كذبت و لقد وصف لى رسول الله صلعم مسجد داود بصفة ما هى هذه قال فمضى الى كنيسة يقال لها صهيون فقال هذا مسجد داود فقال كذبت فانطلق به الى مسجد بيت المقدس حتى انتهى به الى بابه

¹ The text is taken from the following MSS.:

Muthîr al Gharâm: A. Paris MS. Arab. 716
 B. " " " 841
 C. " " " 142
 Collated with Suyûtî's Ithâf: S. a. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 7326.
 S. b. " " " 23339.
 S. c. Paris MS. Suppl. Arab. 919.
 S. d. " " Arab. 836.
 S. e. " " " 838.

² The translation of the following will be found on p. 275 *et seq.*³ S. a. b. علينا

الذى يقال له باب محمد وقد انحدر ما فى المسجد من الزبالة على درج الباب حتى خرج الى الزقاق الذى فيه الباب وكثر على الدرج حتى كاد ان يلقى بسقفه¹ فقال له لا تقدر على ان تدخل الا حبوا قال عمر رضى و لو حبوا فحبى بين يدي عمر و حبونا خلفه حتى افضينا الى صخرة² بيت المقدس واستوتينا فيه قياما فنظر عمر و تأمل مليا ثم قال هذا والذى نفسى بيده الذى وصفه لنا رسول الله صلعم *

و عن هشام بن عمار عن الهيثم بن عمر بن العباسى قال سمعت جدى عبد الله بن ابي عبد الله يقول لما ولى عمر بن الخطاب رضى زار اهل الشام فنزل الجابية و ارسل رجلا من جديلة الى بيت المقدس فافتتحها صلحا ثم جاء عمر و معه كعب فقال يا ابا اسحاق اتعرف موضع الصخرة فقال اذرع من الحايط الذى يلى وادى جهنم كذا و كذا ذراعاً ثم احفر فانك تجدها قال و هى يومئذ مزبلة فحفروا فظهرت لهم فقال عمر لكعب اين ترى ان يجعل المسجد او قال القبلة فقال اجعله خلف الصخرة فتجمع القبليتين قبلة موسى و قبلة محمد صلعم فقال ضاهيت اليهودية يا ابا اسحاق خير المسجد مقدمها قال فبناها فى مقدم المسجد * * *

و عن ابراهيم بن ابي عتبة المقدسى عن ابيه قال قدم عمر بن الخطاب رضى بيت المقدس وعسكر فى طور زيتا ثم انحدر فدخل من باب النبى صلعم فلما استوا فى المسجد نظريميناً و شمالاً ثم قال هذا والذى لا اله الا هو مسجد سليمان بن داود الذى اخبرنا به رسول الله صلعم انه اسرى به اليه ثم اتى غربى المسجد وقال يجعل مسجد المسلمين هاهنا مصلى يصلون فيه *

¹ سقف الرواق S.

³ استوتقنا B.

² صحن مسجد S.

⁴ باب A.

وعن سعيد بن عبد العزيز قال لما فتح عمر بن الخطاب رَضَه بيت المقدس وجد على الصخرة زبلاً كثيراً مما طرحت الروم غيضاً لبنى اسرائيل فبسط عمر رَضَه ردآه فجعل يكنس ذلك الزبل وجعل المسلمون يكنسون. معه * وقال الوليد قال سعيد بن عبد العزيز جاء كتاب رسول الله صلعم الى قيصر وهو بيت المقدس و على صخرة بيت المقدس مزبلة قد حاذت محراب داود مما القته النصارى عليها مضارة لليهود حتى ان¹ المرأة لتبعث بخرق² دهما من رومية فتلقى عليها فقال قيصر حين قرا كتاب رسول الله صلعم انكم يا معاشر الروم لخلقنا ان تقتلوا على هذه المزبلة بما انتهكتن من حرمة هذا المسجد كما قتلت بنو اسرائيل على دم يحيى بن زكريا فامر بكشفها فاحذوا بذلك فقدم المسلمون الشام ولم يكشفوا منها الا ثلثها فلما قدم عمر رَضَه بيت المقدس و فاتحها وراى ما عليها من المزبلة اعظم ذلك فامر بكشفها وسخر لها انباط فلسطين

وروى عن جبير بن نفير قال لما جلى عمر المزبلة عن الصخرة قال لا تصلوا فيها حتى تصيبها ثلاث مطرات

قال الوليد وحدثنى كلثوم بن زياد ان عمر بن الخطاب رَضَه قال لكعب ابن ترى ان تجعل مصلى المسلمين من هذا المسجد قال فى موخرة مما يلى باب الاسباط فقال كلا ان لنا مقدم المسجد قال فمضى الى مقدمه * قال الوليد وحدثنى ابن شداد عن ابيه ان عمر رَضَه مضى الى مقدمه مما يلى الغرب فحشى فى ثوبه من الزبل وحشونا فى ثيابنا ومضى ومضينا معه حتى القينه فى الوادى الذى يقال له وادى جهنم ثم عاد و عدنا بمثلها حتى صلينا فيه فى موضع مسجد يصلى فيه جماعة فصلى عمر بنا فيه * * *

¹ ان كانت C. : S. b. c. d. e. ان كان S. a.

² حفيضا S. a. e.

The Sixth Chapter of the Muthir al Gharām.

الفصل السادس* فى ذكر بنا عبد الملك بن مروان قبة الصخرة
ومتى كان ذلك البنيان *

وقال العلما بنى عبد الملك بن مروان رحمه الله مسجد
بيت المقدس سنة سبعين من الهجرة و حمل الى بنايه خراج
مصر سبع سنين وقال سبط بن الجوزى فى كتاب مرآة الزمان
ابتدا بنيانه فى سنة تسع و ستين و فرغ منه سنة اثنين و
سبعين قال المصنف رحمه الله و يقال ان الذى بنا قبة بيت
المقدس و جددھا سعيد بن عبد الملك بن مروان * روى عن
رجا بن حيوة و يزيد بن سلام مولى عبد الملك بن مروان ان عبد
الملك حين هم ببنا صخرة بيت المقدس و المسجد قدم من
دمشق الى بيت المقدس و بث الكتب فى جميع عمله الى
جميع الامصار ان عبد الملك قد اراد ان يبنى قبة على الصخرة
صخرة بيت المقدس تكن^١ المسلمين من الحر و البرد و المسجد فكرة ان
يفعل ذلك دون رأى رعيته فلتكتب الرعية اليه برايمهم و ما هم
عليه فوردت الكتب عليه يرى امير المؤمنين رايه موقفا. رشيدًا
نسال الله تعالى ان يتم له ما نوى من بنا بيته و صخرته و مسجده
ويجى ذلك على يديه و يجعله مكرمة له و لمن مضى من سلفه
فجمع الصنائع من جميع عمله كله و امرهم ان يصفوا له صفة القبة
وسمتها^٢ من قبل ان يبنيا فكرست له فى صحن المسجد و امر ان
يبنى بيت المال فى شرقى الصخرة و هو الذى فوق على حرف
الصخرة فاشحن بالاموال و وكل على ذلك رجا بن حيوة و يزيد

^١ The translation will be found on p. 280.

^٢ قبة الصخرة و مسجد الانصى S.

^٣ تقى S.e.

^٤ سميتها S.e.

بن سلام و على النفقة عليها والقيام بامرها وامرهم ان يفرغوا المال عليها افرأنا دون ان ينفقوه انفاقا و اخذوا فى البناء والعمارة حتى احكم وفرغ من البناء ولم يبق لمتكلم فيه كلام و كتب اليه بدمشق قد اتم الله ما امر به امير المؤمنين من بنا صخرة بيت المقدس والمسجد الاقصى ولم يبق لمتكلم فيه كلام وقد يبقى مما امر به امير المؤمنين من النفقة عليه بعد ان فرغ البناء واحكم ما به الف دينار فيصرفها امير المؤمنين فى احب الاشيا اليه فكتب اليهما قد امر بها امير المؤمنين لكما جائزة لما وليتما من عمارة ذلك البيت الشريف فكتبنا محن اولى ان نزيد من حلى نساءنا فضلا عن اموالنا فاصرفها فى احب الاشيا اليك فكتب اليهما تسبك وتفرغ على القبة فسبكت و افرغت على القبة فما كان احد يقدر ان يتاملها مما عليها من الذهب وهى لها جلالان من لبود و من ادم من فوقه فاذا كان الشتاء البسته ليكنها من المطر والرياح والثلوج * وكان رجا بن حيوة و يزيد بن ملام قد حفا الحجر بدرابزين من ساسم من فوق¹ الدرابزين ستون ديباج مرخاة بين العمد وكان كل يوم اثنين وخمسين يامرون بالزعفران ان يدق او يطحن ثم يعمل من الليل بالمسك المعنبر والماء ورد الجورى ويخمر من الليل ثم يامر الخدم بالغداة فيدخلون حمام سليمان بن عبد الملك يغتسلون ويتطهرون ثم ياتون الى الخزانة التى فيها الخلق فيلقون اثوابهم ثم يخرجون اثوابا جددا من الخزانة مرويا وهرويا و شيا يقال له العصب و يخرجون مناطق محلاة يشدون بها اوساطهم ثم ياخذون سفول الخلق ثم ياتون بها حجر الصخرة فيلطنحون ما قدروا ان تناله ايديهم حتى يغمروه كله فما لم تناله ايديهم غسلوا اقدامهم ثم يصعدون على

الصخرة حتى يلطخوا ما بقى منها ثم يرفع انية الخلق ثم ياتون
 مجامر الذهب والفضة و العود القمارى والند المطرى¹ بالمسك و
 العنبر فترخى الستور حول الاعمدة كلها ثم ياخذون البخور حولها
 يدورون به حتى يحول بينهم وبين القبة من كثرته ثم تشمر الستور
 فيخرج البخور يفوح من كثرته حتى يبلغ الى راس السوق فيشم
 الريح من شمه وينقطع البخور من عندهم ثم ينادى فى صف
 البزازين² وغيرهم الا ان الصخرة قد فتحت للناس فمن اراد الصلاة
 فيها فليات فيظل مبادرين الى الصلاة فى الصخرة و اكثر الناس من
 يدرك ان يصلى ركعتين و اقلهم اربعا ثم يخرج الناس فمن شموا
 رايحته قالوا هذا ممن دخل الصخرة و تغسل اثار اقدامهم بالما و
 تمسح بالاس الاخضر و تنشف³ بالمشانى و المناديل و تغلق الابواب
 وعلى كل باب عشرة من الحجبة ولا تدخل الا يوم الاثنين او الخميس
 ولا يدخلها فى غيرهما الا الخادم * و عن حارث قال كنت اسرجها
 خلافة عبد الملك كلها بالبان المدينى و الزنبق الرصاص⁴ قال و
 كانت الحجبة يقولون يا ابا بكر مر لنا بقنديل فدهن⁵ به و ننتظي
 فكان يجيهم الى ذلك فهذا ما كان يفعل بها خلافة عبد الملك
 كلها * و عن الوليد قال عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن منصور بن ثابت
 حدثنى ابنى عن ابيه عن جده قال كان فى السلسلة التى فى
 وسط القبة على الصخرة درة يتيمة و كرنا كبش ابراهيم و تاج كسرى
 معلقات فيها ايام عبد الملك فلما صارت الخلافة الى بنى هاشم
 حولها الى الكعبة حرسها الله تعالى *

¹ عطر. S. e.

² الدرازين. S.

³ بالمشانى. C. بالمشانى. B.

⁴ الزنبق الرصاصى. U. الزنبق الرصاصى. B.

⁵ ندهن. B. and C.

The Seventh Chapter of the Muthir al Gharâm.¹

الفصل السابع * فيما اثره عبد الملك وغيره فى المسجد الاقصى
و فى طوله و فى عرضه مستوفى مستقفا *

روى الحافظ ابن عساكر رحمه الله بسندة الى ابي المعالى المقدسى
فذكر حديث بنا عبد الملك قبة الصخرة والمسجد الاقصى و قال
عقبة و كان فيه نى ذلك الوقت من الخشب المسقف سوى اعمدة
خشب ستة الاف خشبة و فيه من الابواب خمسون بابا و من العمود
ستماية عامود رخام و فيه من المحاريب سبعة و من السلاسل للقناديل
اربعمائة سلسلة الا خمس عشرة منها مايتا سلسلة و ثلثون سلسلة
فى المسجد و الباقي فى قبة الصخرة و ذرع السلاسل اربع الاف
ذراع و وزنها ثلاثة و اربعون الف رطل بالشامى و فيه من القناديل
خمس الاف قنديل و كان يسرج فيه مع القناديل الفا شمعة فى
ليالى الجمع و فى رجب و نصف شعبان و فى ليالى العيد و فيه
من القباب خمس عشرة قبة سوى قبة الصخرة و على سطوح
المسجد ملبس من شقات الرصاص سبعة الاف شقة و سبعمائة وزن
الشقة سبعون رطلا بالشامى غير الذى على قبة الصخرة و كل ذلك
عمل فى ايام عبد الملك و رتب له من الخدم القوام ثلثماية
خادم اشترى له من خمس بيت المال كلما مات منهم ميت
قام مكانه ولده و ولد ولده او من اهلهم يجرى عليهم ذلك ابدا ما
تناسلوا و تقبضون بايديهم من بيت المال و فيه من الصهاريج
اربعة و عشرون صهريجاً كبارا و فيه من المنابر² اربع ثلاث منها صف
واحد غربى المسجد و واحد على باب الاسباط و كان له من الخدم
اليهود عشرة رجال لا يواخذ منهم الجزية و تولدوا فصاروا عشرين

¹ The translation of this chapter will be found on p. 285.

² A.B. المنابر, but C. and S. always المنابر

رجلا كنس اوساج الناس فى المواسم والشتا والصيف وكنس المطاهر
التي حول الجامع وله من الخدم النصارى من الرجال عشرة
اهل البيت يتوارثون خدمته لعمل المحصر وكنس حصر المسجد
وكنس القنى التي تجرى الى صهاريج الماء وتنظيف الصهاريج وكنسها
ايضا وغير ذلك وله من الخدم اليهود جماعة يعملون الزجاج
للقناديل والاقداح والبزاقات وغير ذلك لا يوخذ منهم جزية
وكذلك لا يوخذ جزية من الذين يقومون بالسراقة للفتيل¹ التي
المصاييح جاريا عليهم وعلى اولادهم ابدا ما تناسلوا من اهد عبد
الملك بن مروان الى الان * وعن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن
منصور بن ثابت قال حدثني ابي عن ابيه من جده ان الابواب
كانت ملبسة ذهبيا وفضة صفائح للابواب كل ذلك فى خلافة
عبد الملك كلها فلما قدم ابو جعفر المنصور وكان شرقي المسجد
وغربة قد وقع فرفع اليه يا امير المؤمنين قد وقع شرقي المسجد
وغربيه زمان الرجفة سنة ثلاثين ومائة وقالوا اليه لو امرت ببنياء
هذا المسجد وعمارته فقال ما عندي شئ من المال فامر بالقلع
الصفائح الفضة والذهب التي كانت على الابواب فضربت دنانير
ودراهم وانفق عليه حتى فرغ منه ثم كانت الرجفة الثانية فوقع
البناء الذي امر به ابو جعفر ثم قدم المهدي من بعده وهو خراب
فرفع اليه ذلك فامر ببنيائه فقال دق هذا المسجد وطال وخلا من
الرجال انقصوا من طوله وزيدوا فى عرضه فتم البناء فى خلافته
وفى سنة اثنين وخمسين واربعماية سقط تنور قبة بيت المقدس
فيه خمسمائة قنديل فتطير المومنون المقيمون ببيت المقدس
وقالوا ليكون فى الاسلام حادث عظيم * وروى عن الوليد قال حدثني

ابو عمير بن ضمرة عن ابن عطا عن ابيه قال كانت اليهود تسرج بيت المقدس فلما ولى عمر بن عبد العزيز رحمه تعالى اخرجهم وجعل فيه من الخمس فاته رجل من اهل الخمس فقال اعتقنى فقال كيف اعتقك ولو ذهبت انظر ما كان لى شعرة من شعر كلبك *¹ قال الحافظ ابن عساكر و طول المسجد الاقصى سبعماية ذراع وخمسة وخمسون ذراعا بذراع الملك وعرضه اربعماية ذراع وخمسة وستون ذراعا بذراع الملك قال المصنف رحمه الله وكذا قاله ابو المعالى المشرف فى كتابه ولكن رايت قديما بالحايث الشمالى فوق الباب الذى يلى الدوادرية من داخل السور بلاطة فيها طول المسجد وعرضه وذلك مخالف لما ذكره فالذى فيها ان طوله سبعماية ذراع واربعه وثمانون ذراعا وعرضه اربعماية ذراع وخمسة وخمسون ذراعا قال المصنف رحمه الله و وصف فيها الذراع لكنى لم اتحقق ذلك هل هو الذراع المذكور ام غيره لتشعث الكتابة قال رحمه الله وقد ذرع بالحبال عرضه وطوله فى وقتنا هذه فجاء قدر طوله من الجهة الشرقية ستماية وثلاث وثمانون ذراعا ومن الغربية ستماية وخمسون ذراعا وجاء قدر عرضه اربعماية وثمان وثلاثين ذراعا خارجا عن عرض اسواره *

¹ The translation of this concluding paragraph is that given on p. 269.